



# Sechaboa

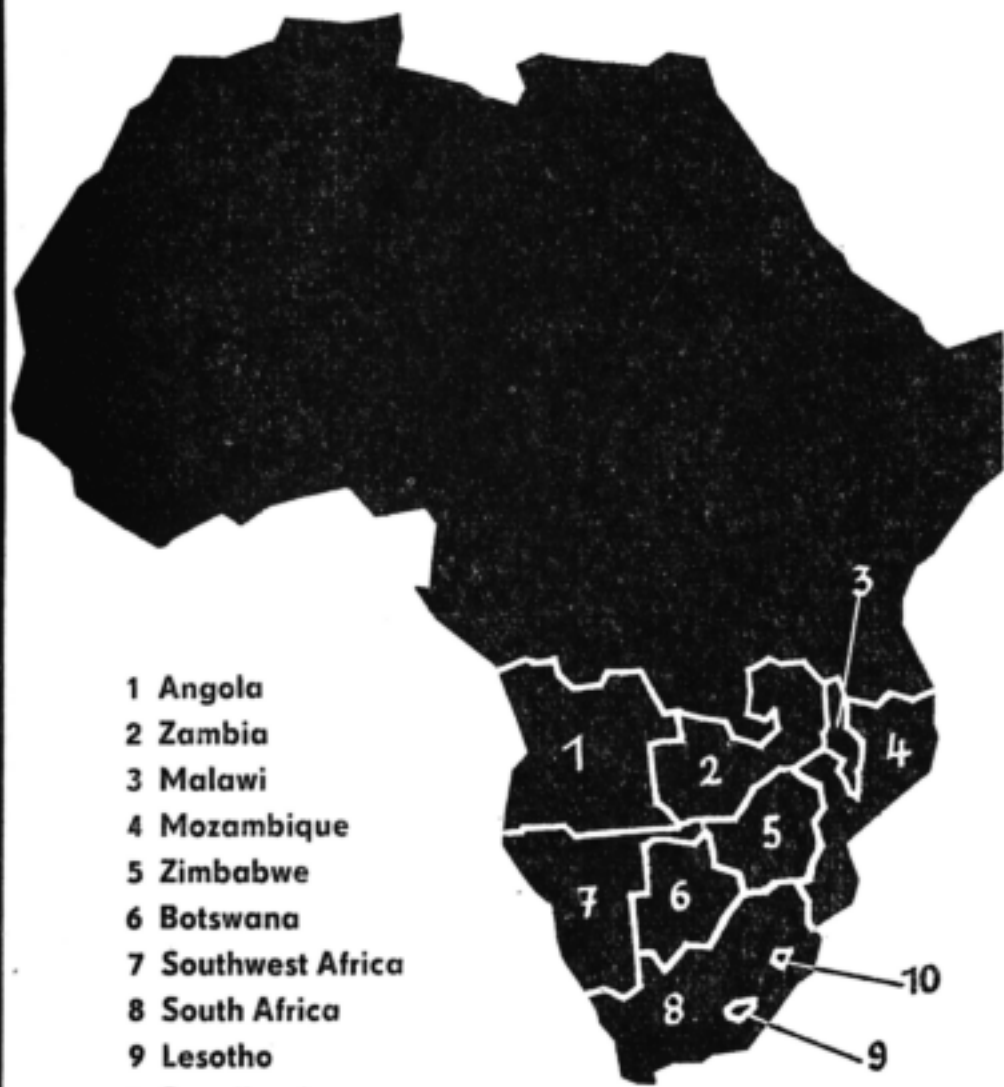
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# THE SOUTHERN AFRICA STRUGGLE

The unholy alliance – Vorster, Smith and Salazar – must now all face the armed wrath of the people. We present analyses and reports of the great struggle.

## ZIMBABWE IS NOT NEGOTIABLE

by PILANI-NDEBELE, Editor of Zimbabwe Review,  
organ of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU)

The struggle for national liberation in Zimbabwe is in conformity with the struggle of all the peoples of the world to overthrow the imperialist fabric and to establish the right to self-determination. Our anti-imperialist stand is neither new nor unique but a continuation of a process launched by our ancestors 77 years ago. Ever since the rape of Zimbabwe, we have stood in unison in an endeavour to change the status quo. In 1893—94 and 1896—97 the people of Zimbabwe unleashed the stream of sanguinary warfare in an attempt to regain their birthright. In 1967, the struggle goes on, for the essence of conflict remains unresolved.

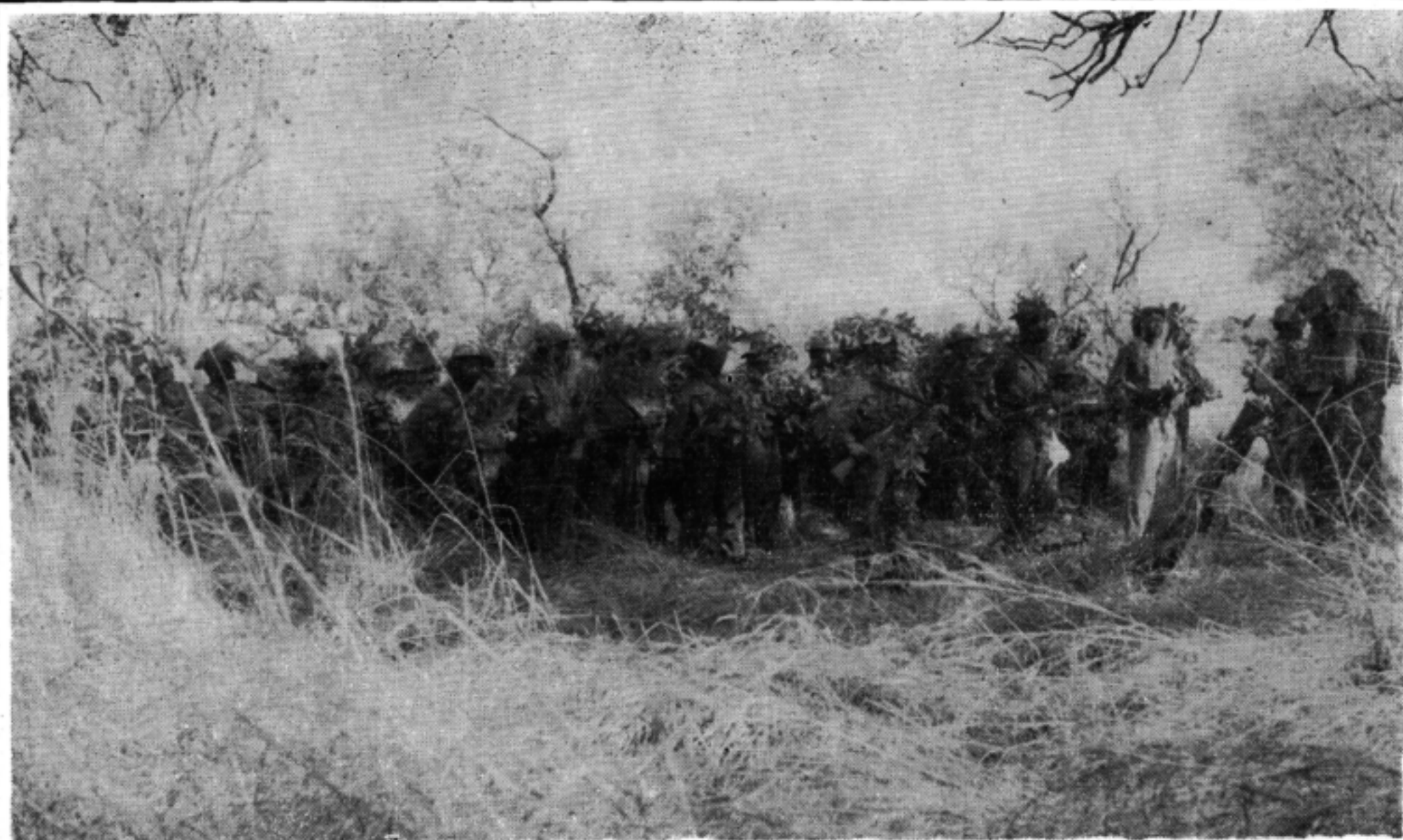
The contradictions between imperialism and the aspirations of the majority are not negotiable. To suggest that Britain has a responsibility for the freedom of the people of Rhodesia is to ignore the antagonism between imperialist interests and the interests of the masses. Hence Britain's sanctions policy is both fraudulent and hypocritical in essence and objective. The Smith regime continues its policy of defiance of human rights and exercises brutal force to ensure the survival of white supremacy. It is in this context that the Zimbabwe Af-

rican People's Union has launched armed struggle as the strategy for victory. The freedom and independence of Zimbabwe will not be won through corridor diplomacy nor is it subject to bargaining on the auction floors of imperialism.

### PROTRACTED STRUGGLE

We must make a few observations of cardinal importance in reference to the struggle of Zimbabwe. The "illegality" of the Smith regime is not the bone of contention. The imposition of foreign rule has never been and never can be legal except in the context of the laws of colonialism. Minority rule was established and continues to exist through the use of violence. The administrative machinery of the colonialist set-up is nothing less than the violence of oppressors against the indigenous people.

The colonial world is a violent world. The violence with which white supremacy is maintained and the aggressiveness with which it is perpetrated demonstrates



*Frelimo freedom-fighters in Mozambique; now South African and Zimbabwe freedom-fighters are engaged in armed action.*

the extent to which imperialism will go to ensure its survival.

The destruction of the state machinery of white supremacists demands the application of revolutionary tactics to achieve positive results — the emancipation of the majority. ZAPU understands revolution not as isolated acts of violence but as a protracted struggle, with the objective of seizing state power. We do not consider violence as an instrument to enable us to compromise with imperialists, for there is no compromise between the people and colonialism. The conflict is total.

### **WE CANNOT BE STOPPED**

The events of the last few months have demonstrated our ability and preparedness to wage a war of national liberation, but we must make it quite clear that whilst the present operations have shaken the settler regime, they are but a prelude to mass armed struggle.

The triumph of revolutionary violence over the forces of reaction entails the development of armed struggle until it engulfs the whole nation. The creation of a solid nucleus for a liberation war is a prerequisite and a component part of mass armed struggle.

The defeat of imperialist forces will be achieved by escalating and intensifying revolutionary activities. The destiny of Zimbabwe will therefore be shaped not by the whims and wishes of Whitehall but by the systematic application of revolutionary violence by the ma-

jority. The vast military technology and the entire complex of the security network of the existing dictatorship is incapable of preventing mass action.

### **STRUGGLE AGAINST IMPERIALISM**

The new dimension in the political conflict in Zimbabwe is manifested by the public participation of the South African army in a bid to contain and annihilate the liberation forces. The alliance of the forces of oppression backed by international finance houses is a pointer to the gravity of the problem. The struggle in Zimbabwe can therefore not be looked at in the narrow context of settler rule but in the context of a struggle against imperialism and all its ramifications. ZAPU recognises that imperialists neither abdicate nor voluntarily surrender. Our activities are therefore an affirmation that only revolutionary violence can overthrow the machinery of oppression. We reject the concept of limited violence or the so-called 'strategic objects' idea. We affirm that it would be national suicide if the African people tried to win the battle against the Smith regime and lost the war against imperialism. Freedom can only be achieved and safeguarded by the masses themselves. Revolution in Zimbabwe is not only inevitable but a necessity, not only for the specific purpose of achieving state power but also for the maintenance of this power. In the years ahead there will be a systematic development of armed struggle. As time unfolds, the nucleus of revolution now being created will have galvanised into a people's war.



# ARMED STRUGGLE - THE PATH TO MOZAMBIQUE'S FREEDOM

Mozambique is a country of great size, great poverty and great suffering. For over four centuries its people have been the victims of Portuguese colonialism. The African people, constituting more than 6 million of the country's population of nearly 7 million, have been exploited and oppressed. Our land has been seized from us, our labour forced, our dignity denied. Now we are fighting for our freedom, and the glow of freedom's sun is warming the horizon of a new and glorious dawn.

It is now more than five years since a number of political organizations and groups, searching for the unity that our common struggle demanded, came together in May 1962 to form a united national liberation movement of Mozambique — FRELIMO. Since that historic date, the national liberation struggle has advanced rapidly towards its goal despite all efforts of the cruel imperialist oppressors to snuff out the flame of freedom. Under the leadership of Dr Eduardo Mondlane, FRELIMO has gone from strength to strength. In September 1962 its inaugural conference was held in Dar es Salaam. A mere two years later, on 25 September 1964, the armed struggle of the people was launched.

## UNHERALDED BEGINNING

When the guerilla assault on Portuguese colonialism was launched three years ago, the world gave little attention to the new phase that was being opened up. In the remote, thinly-populated sub-tropical regions of the northern provinces of Mozambique, the guerillas fought their grim struggle unnoticed by the nations of the world. Their initial successes were at first denied and later minimized by the Portuguese when the truth could no longer be completely suppressed.

Recently, a dramatic account of that epoch-making engagement of 25 September 1964 has been published in *Mozambique Revolution*, organ of FRELIMO. It tells how a small band of guerillas, after careful preparation, attacked and destroyed one of the colonialists' administrative centres, at Chai, in Cabo Delgado province. Physical fitness, cunning, foresight and courage went to make this the first of many successes. The Portuguese tried to explain the death of the *chefe de posto* as "death by misadventure." Since that transparent lie, there have been many "deaths by misadventure" — too many for the truth to remain unknown.

## LIBERATED ZONES

Today, as a recent communique from Dar es Salaam reveals, about one-third of the country is actively engaged in armed struggle. One-fourth of it is liberated or semiliberated. In these parts the process of revolutionary reconstruction has already commenced. With the encouragement and support of FRELIMO, our people are applying themselves with new vigour to agricultural production, for they recognise its importance to the maintenance of the freedom-fighters. Primary schools, medical clinics, literacy campaigns, trading co-operatives — all directed at the long-neglected needs of the people — are springing up throughout the liberated zones. They are living symbols of the value of freedom, pointing the way to a better future, and helping to create it alongside of the armed struggle that goes on now and will continue until the last trace of imperialist oppression has been wiped off the face of our country.

## WHO THE OPPRESSOR?

While the struggle continues and all our resources are thrown into the war of liberation, we are entitled to look around and ask: Who are our friends, and who our enemies?

A veritable roll-call of oppressors was called less than a year ago at the United Nations when on 12 December 1966 a resolution calling for strong action against Portuguese colonialism was voted on. Seventy nations supported the motion; only 13 voted against. Prominent among these were Portugal and South Africa (bastions of racialism), the United Kingdom and the United States (the long-time friends of reactionary causes), Spain and Brazil, and several other Western satellites. NATO armaments are supplied to Portugal in the full knowledge of their eventual destination and task — the crushing of our freedom struggle.

But even the great armoury of Nato placed at Portugal's disposal will not alter the course of history. Latest reports from the battle-front show that the guerillas are utilising to the full their mobility and the advantage of surprise. In August, a series of ambushes were launched along the road linking Mueda, Miteda and Muidumbe. A column of enemy military vehicles was intercepted, and turned back. Its second attempt to reach its destination led it into so fierce an ambush that reinforcements had to be called up. These in turn were caught in an ambush and had to return to Nan-

gololo. More enemy reinforcements from Miteda met a similar fate. Exact casualty figures cannot yet be established, but many of the enemy are known to have been killed and several vehicles put out of action.

#### **SOLIDARITY**

August, of course, also saw the opening of the guerilla struggle in the Wankie area of Zimbabwe. We welcome

this new development, and in the words of our President, Dr Mondlane:

"We are looking forward to new and great victories for the heroic people of Zimbabwe and we hope that they will strengthen their unity and will intensify the armed struggle till the final victory.

**INDEPENDENCE OR DEATH — WE WILL WIN!"**

## **SOUTH WEST AFRICA: TRIAL COMMENCES, STRUGGLE CONTINUES**

Unchecked by world opinion, or by the United Nations, hamstrung by the refusal of the Western powers to confront apartheid, South African imperialism ravages the people of South West Africa (Namibia).

For over twenty years, leaders and delegates of the various communities in South West Africa laid before world councils the tragic facts of their humiliation by the South African betrayers of an imperial mandate.

Year after year, they sought relief from the Great Powers who contented themselves with paper resolutions and empty condemnations of the South African regime. Finally, the two oldest independent African states, Ethiopia and Liberia, took the case of the people of Namibia before the International Court of Justice at The Hague. The proceedings, begun in November 1960, dragged on and on until on 18 July 1966 they ended with the refusal of the Court to decide on the merits of the case before it. This pitiful abdication of responsibility was the final exposure of the moral bankruptcy not only of the World Court, but also of those countries (represented in the Court by their judges) which had created a political climate which permitted so outrageous a decision.

#### **SWAPO LAUNCHES STRUGGLE**

Denied freedom by the white oppressors, and support from the international community, the people of Namibia realised that their historic right to self-determination could only be won by waging a staunch, vigorous, unyielding and revolutionary armed struggle against the tyranny weighing them down. On 26 August 1966, the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO) launched their armed struggle, thus opening a new chapter in the history of South Africa. For eleven months the guerillas lived in dry and inhuman conditions, launching many forays on the enemy, and organising the people in support of the struggle.

They had many successes which the Vorster regime has tried to keep from the public eye. To take but two examples from November 1966: on 12 November freedom-fighters attacked the enemy at Tsumeb, killing ten of their soldiers for the loss of none of our own. Less than a week later, SWAPO guerillas blew up a South African army vehicle near Grootfontein, killing all the







*A group of Frelimo freedom-fighters, somewhere in Mozambique, preparing an ambush*

occupants. Many similar successes could be cited. In some engagements, sons of our soil have died bravely fighting for their countrymen; in others, courageous freedom-fighters have been captured by the enemy.

#### **ILLEGAL PRETORIA TRIAL**

The result is the current tragic farce of a trial in Pretoria. 36 patriots and democrats are standing trial under the notorious Terrorism Act, passed shortly before the commencement of the case and made retrospective to cover the period of the indictment in the case. The trial itself is illegal, for in November last year the United Nations withdrew South Africa's mandate, thereby ending its right to govern Namibia. The accused, many of whom have been kept for months in solitary confinement and cruelly tortured (one man has already died), are far from their home country and from the scenes of their activity. If justice reigned today in South West Africa instead of terror, these men would be the judges in the trial of their oppressors.

But justice does not yet reign, and until it does, it is of the utmost importance to arouse world opinion in defence and support of the 36 defendants of the Pretoria Trial. Their lives are at stake: we owe them un-sparing efforts on their behalf.

#### **ON THE PATH TO FREEDOM**

The fascist Vorster regime is hoping, by staging yet another elaborate "show trial" to end with vicious sentences, finally to intimidate the oppressed masses into silent acquiescence in the horrors of apartheid. The attempt will fail, as previous attempts failed. The struggle continues — on the dusty plains and dried-up swamps of Ovamboland, along the Caprivi Strip, and everywhere where men's hearts thrill to the promise of freedom from oppression. The people will fight, and fight again, *and triumph!* A year's experience of armed struggle has laid the basis for future advances. There is no turning back. The future is ours. We go out to meet it, boldly and gladly.

# LESOTHO, MALAWI, BOTSWANA, SWAZILAND

Developments in Southern Africa are moving fast. It is now quite clear that the fascist white minority regime has found some willing Trojan horses. The newly independent African states that share common borders with South Africa are being subjected to great pressure by the white fascist regime to sell apartheid to the rest of Africa. More, as our freedom-fighters courageously engage the Rhodesian rebel regime and the South African regime, our three young sister African countries (Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland) are seen to disparage our acts.

We appreciate the special geographical, political and economic problems facing these countries. However, we strongly disapprove of their attempts to appease the apartheid regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia.

The plight of land-locked countries in the southern part of Africa is well-known and has received sympathetic consideration from democrats everywhere. Southern Africa can be taken to include all those countries listed on the map on page one. All these countries have com-



mon links, and certain aspects of their socio-economic organization render them interdependent.

Such facilities as railways and harbours, airways, all-weather highways, posts and telecommunications, shipping and clearing agencies, banking, insurance and finance institutions, trade and labour exchange — all these and other services cause any political change in one country to reverberate along the lifelines of the others. In this complex situation, South Africa is in the strongest position, and her political manoeuvres hold her adversaries to ransom far beyond South Africa's immediate borders. South Africa wields the baton, and contemporary history shows how her neighbours dance.

## LEABUA JONATHAN

Earlier this year, the South African all-white parliament voted money to be used by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs headed by Dr Hilgard Muller for undisclosed purposes. One week before Chief Leabua Jonathan of Lesotho (which is entirely surrounded by South Africa) departed for a State visit to Malawi, he had a visit from Dr Muller. Were we therefore surprised at the content of Jonathan's speech in Blantyre in view of our knowledge of his mentor's briefing?

Chief Jonathan's idea of establishing "an economic community" in Southern Africa between African states and the white dictatorial regimes is not new. Indeed, it is an accomplished fact with regard to those States sharing a border with South Africa. Their currency is the South African rand, and the Customs Union that operates in this area places South Africa in a dominant position. The railways are owned by South Africa and Rhodesia. The ports of Lourenco Marques, Beira, Luanda, Cape Town, Durban, Port Elizabeth and so on, make it impossible for the African states throughout Southern Africa to escape the imperialist stranglehold without paying a high economic price.

## ZAMBIA HOLDS OUT

Zambia alone has demonstrated her will to honour her people's sovereignty, and not to submit. Placed under increasing economic pressures from the south, threatened by huge South African military bases just across the border in the Caprivi Strip, and without any tangible aid from Britain or the Commonwealth, Zambia holds on to her principles under the lead of the redoubtable Dr Kaunda.



In September, Leabua Jonathan visited the United Nations to urge the progressive world to enter into a "continuing dialogue" with South Africa. King Sobhuza II of Swaziland has allowed South Africa to run and manage his country's economy. Sir Seretse Khama, Botswana's President, wants his country to establish diplomatic relations with South Africa, while many of our freedom-fighters are languishing in his jails.

### OUR POLICY TOWARD OUR NEIGHBOURS

The policy of the oppressed people of South Africa has always been to give full support to Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland for their complete independence. Since 1909 our people opposed Britain when she tried to lay down a constitutional procedure by which these countries would have been eventually incorporated in the Union of South Africa.

We have maintained that were these countries successful in attaining full independence from South Africa, they would enhance not only their sovereign independent status but also bring nearer the day when our people will regain their lost freedom and dignity.

The interests of the peoples of these countries and of South Africa lie in the total overthrow of the fascist-inspired white minority government in Pretoria. That still remains our final objective.

### NO DIALOGUE WITH APARTHEID

The uncanny remarks by Dr Banda recently on maintaining trade and diplomatic relations with the fascist regimes, should be dismissed with the contempt they deserve. We have never deceived ourselves that the struggle in South Africa will be won by boycotts alone. What we have requested the world to do is to stop the dialogue with South Africa in all forms.

We say emphatically that it is immoral to continue a dialogue with a country that is committed to racism, exploitation and oppression. For dialogue to be effective, it must surely start from the premise that there can eventually be co-operation in what is common to both parties. The liberation movement in our country, and the entire progressive world, are totally opposed to the false policies of racism, white domination and apartheid. We are convinced that to show a willingness to enter into dialogue with a government whose policies have long been condemned, is to compromise on matters of fundamental principle.

### THE WAY OUT OF BONDAGE

The key to the complicated situation in the south lies in a bold and deliberate choice by the independent African states in that area to build bridges with the north. It also involves a more fraternal attitude of solidarity being shown to the national liberation movement in the south.

For decades, the people of South Africa have sought the solution of their problems through peaceful means. The answer to these efforts has been the massacre of our people in cold blood. All endeavours for a political solution have been ruthlessly suppressed. Economically our people have been turned into moveable labour units and most of them live on wages which are below the poverty datum line. Socially, our people have been uprooted and herded into barren ghettos reminiscent of Nazi Germany. Our education has been debased and prostituted.



The task that has faced our people and their leadership has been to find a new form to effectively counter white racist overlordship and national oppression. The opening of the new front with the Zimbabwe African People's Union for armed struggle in Rhodesia calls for the active support of everyone who has the liberation of our countries at heart.

It is in this spirit that we appeal to the rulers of Botswana, Lesotho, Swaziland and Malawi not to get into the way of this powerful revolutionary current. We demand co-operation from these countries in the great crusade for freedom and human dignity. The unholy alliance of Vorster, Smith and Salazar must be destroyed. This duty devolves on all those who desire African unity and the unfettered development of our ravaged continent.



# LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

## IN A CELL IS NOT ENOUGH

Ntsotoyi Ponie Pita and his brother Charlie Pita, both held "in connection with the shooting of a farmer," escaped from a police cell in Elliott in September.

"I cannot understand how they accomplished it," stated Colonel C.R. Botha, Divisional Commander of Police in the area. "*Both men were in leg irons and their arms were manacled.*"

## CHARGED MAN HANGS HIMSELF

An African who was to have appeared last month in court on a charge of drunken driving, was found hanging from a steel beam in the back of the truck he was employed to drive. He had been working for the firm for more than ten years. He is identified only as Joe.

## 'REMOVE CONSCIENCE CLAUSE'

A renewed attempt to have the conscience clause removed from the statutory constitution of the University of the Orange Free State was left unresolved at the recent annual congress of the National Party. The conscience clause exists in the constitutions of all South African universities except the University of Potchefstroom. It is a clause to protect university staff and students from discrimination on religious grounds.

## CONCERN ABOUT IMMIGRATION

At the same conference of the National Party (Vorster's ruling party), "deep-rooted concern" was expressed about the Government's immigration policy.

Among other things it was felt that the number of Roman Catholic immigrants was endangering South Africa's protestantism.

South Africa's Minister of Immigration was at the conference to reassure his fellow Nationalists. Replying to debate, he said he would not allow immigration to alter the cultural or religious balance in South Africa. "It has never been the Government's policy to discriminate against any person on the grounds of his nationality or religious belief," added Mr Trollip. It could be admitted publicly however that preference was given to immigrants from the countries of origin of South Africa's own White population.

Even before criticism of the immigration policy, he had specified the considerations to be taken into account by the immigration Selection Board.

This had "had the effect" of reducing immigration from Mediterranean countries and increasing the number of immigrants from northern and western countries.

Regarding Roman Catholics, it would need 40,000 Roman Catholic immigrants to increase the proportion of Roman Catholics in South Africa by even one per cent.

"This is not something about which we have to worry ourselves," said Mr Trollip.

## EVIL INFLUENCES

Addressing 2,000 University of Pretoria students recently, was Mr Blaar Coetzee, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration.

If ever the Afrikaner (Boer) had made a mistake in the past, he said, it was to have left the African open to the "wrong and strange influences of the Roman Catholic and Anglican Churches, and British Imperialism."

"We must convince the Bantu (African) that he must look to the Whites in South Africa for help," he stated, "because if we do not give it to him he will seek refuge with the Americans, the communists and the Red Chinese." Later in his speech he stated that the world should not see South Africa's decency and Christianity as a weakness.

## JAILED FOR RAPE

Willem Frederick van Rensburg, an unemployed White, raped a 12-year-old African girl after telling her he was a detective and arresting her for theft. Rejecting van Rensburg's allegation that the two Africans who gave evidence against him were conspiring against him, Mr Justice Nicholas sentenced him to a 5-to-8 year sentence for the prevention of crime.

## SORRY TO SEE YOU GO

An Indian, Moosa Carrim, appeared in court in Johannesburg charged with contravening the Group Areas Act, which divides South Africa into racially segregated living areas.

He had been told to move to Lenasia, an Indian area outside of town. He had not done so and was subsequently charged with living in an area set aside for Whites.

In court Carrim pleaded guilty but stated that he worked in a bakery in Germiston, starting at four in the morning, and there was no transport from Lenasia to Germiston at that time in the morning.

He also handed in a letter from the director of a bakery which described him as "without doubt irreplaceable," in his bakery job.

After hearing the case, the Magistrate said to Moosa Carrim: "I really do feel sorry for you." He fined Carrim £ 15, but suspended it for 3 years. He also allowed Carrim 3 months to vacate his house in the white area.

## PRESS FINED FOR TRESPASS

Mike Louw, a freelance newspaper reporter, Peter Magubane, a *Rand Daily Mail* photographer, and Douglas Zwane, a driver, were each fined £ 5 when they were convicted in the Delmas court in



South Africa of trespassing on a farm in May this year.

Evidence was led that the three entered Mr Gustav Potgieter's farm, to interview African children who were working in the potato fields.

Delivering sentence, the magistrate, Mr Smit, said the question arose whether Press freedom could include entering a farm without permission in the name of public interest. Press freedom did not stretch that far, he decided, and a reporter should obtain permission from a farmer to investigate the working conditions of his labourers.

### TREASON TRIALIST DEAD

Mr Alpheus Madiba, who was served with a banning order after being acquitted in the great Treason Trial, was arrested in Louis Trichardt in August this year and held in the Pretoria Central Prison under the notorious new Terrorism Act without being charged. He was later found hanging in his cell. Colonel F. van Niekerk stated that Mr Madiba "died from asphyxia due to hanging" on 9 September.

### 'NO BLACK ASSISTANTS'

Employers in shops in South Africa, through their national body Assemp, put forward an application to the Wage Board for the introduction of a new category.

They wished to employ Africans to serve in shops in White areas, because, they stated, they were suffering from a shortage of part-time White assistants. They suggested, however, that Africans so employed by them would be employed only to serve other Africans buying in the shops and not to serve Whites.

But the commercial distributive trade unions, which have only white members, have opposed the application, saying that it would lower standards in the trade and introduce cheap labour.

Later, the employers' body Assemp withdrew its application to the Wage Board, although individual shops, it stated, would continue the campaign.

Meanwhile the powerful South African Iron, Steel and Allied Industries Union has decided to negotiate with the steel, engineering, motor and other industries, in a move to clamp down on racial mixing in certain jobs and to establish a fixed job-reservation pattern, i. e. reservation of skilled and semi-skilled jobs for White only.

### THE UNSAFE SHOP

In September, the Johannesburg inquest magistrate found that the death of an African man who had broken into Mr Harry Sam's cafe in Johannesburg, and who was shot dead by Mr Sam, was justifiable homicide. Abner Morudu, a general labourer, died on 15 July 1967 of multiple gunshot wounds.

Abner Morudu was the fourth burglar Mr Sam has shot dead in the past 3 years.

Subsequent to shooting Abner Morudu, Mr Sam has shot and killed two further burglars who broke into his shop, bringing the total number of deaths to six.

### STRICTER APARTHEID LAWS

The Government intended to impose stricter regulations to separate the races and to stop them from mixing in White areas, stated the Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration recently.

"Let there be no mistake about it," he told delegates at a National Party congress in Pretoria, "We are putting a stop to the inflow of Bantu into White areas." ('Bantu' is the official Government designation for 'Africans' — Editor).

Thereafter he continued an attack on the Johannesburg City Council which, he said, was largely to blame "for the position in that city." Many Africans who mingled with the crowds at the Johannesburg Zoo, for instance, were the servants of Whites or were backyard squatters.

The attack on the Council was begun by delegates who said that the Johannesburg crime rate was largely due to Africans being allowed to roam at will in the streets at night.

Replying to appeals for curfews to be put into operation with regard to Africans in White areas, Mr Coetzee, the Deputy Minister, said that the problem of integration of races in the cities was steadily being beaten.

Curfews were already enforced in most cities, but the Government was reluctant to force them onto local authorities. However, when local authorities applied for permission to operate curfews, such permission was readily authorised. Answering criticism of the fact that Africans often drank 'Bantu beer' (a light maize brew) in public places, he said provision had been made for the position to be rectified. The beer had now been declared to be alcoholic, with the result that the police were empowered to put a stop to the practice.

### DEATH BY CROWDING

There have been many instances of death by crowding in South Africa, an indirect result of the Government's anti-African policies. Deaths have been particularly noted in accidents involving trains. The mass of African workers employed in the cities are forced to live 10 to 20 miles out of the cities in racial ghettos, expressly created under Group Areas legislation. Consequently thousands of workers must travel long distances home each night by trains specially provided and leading directly to the isolated railheads ending in the remote ghettos.

There are not sufficient of these trains, and so the workers are forced to clamber on as best they may in order to get home. It is not an unusual sight in South Africa to see packed trains with people hanging out of the windows and sometimes even on the roofs.

That the African workers are greatly frustrated and stirred up by this "cattle-herding" can be judged by the fact that in reports of train accidents, tremendous antagonism, even to would-be rescuers, has been noted among those involved.

The "cattle-herding" outlook is taken a step further: the entrances to the station platforms are along bridges over the lines which are closed in by wire fencing.

An accident occurred earlier this year near Benoni in South Africa when a home-going crowd panicked on a railway bridge. A man apparently tripped and fell, but the crowd was so packed that those behind could not stop. In an "attempt to restrain" the crowd, barrier attendants threw lumps of coal at them. When order was restored there were heaps of clothes, money and lunch containers left behind.

Nine Africans were dead and 23 had been seriously wounded.

A similar accident occurred in the Western Deep Levels goldmine in the same month. African mine-labourers were rushing down a subway in order to be in time for "the last shift cage" down the mine. One tripped and fell, and the others behind could not stop the forward impetus. The result was that 50 men lost their lives and a further 49 were admitted to hospital.

A more notorious incident was reported in Sechaba earlier this year. An African club in Johannesburg was suddenly raided by a group of policemen who were looking for a suspected criminal. One of the policemen led a police dog into the nightclub. Ten people were trampled to death as the club patrons fled from the snapping dog.



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# JEAN-PAUL SARTRE

talks to the  
Anti-Apartheid Movement on

## SOUTH AFRICA - HUB OF FASCISM

Abridged version of original speech

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There exists today in Africa a cancer which threatens very soon to become generalised: this is apartheid, practised systematically by the Government of South Africa. Apartheid is both a practice and a theory.

The practice is euphemistically called separate development, that is to say, the application by a minority of 3 million people of European origin of a system of politics which is aimed at keeping in slavery (the word is not too strong) 14 million inhabitants of African, Asian and mixed origin.

These 14 million inhabitants have no political rights. They can neither vote nor assemble nor form trade unions. They are forced to carry passes to justify their presence here or there, which presents such a great number of obligations that they cannot fulfil them all, so that they are always in the position of facing possible arrest. At the same time they are the object of a systematic development, tribalism, enforced by the central government in such a way as to prevent the birth of a national consciousness.

They have no economic rights. They cannot possess anything. 75 % of the population is, or is going to be, confined to 12 % of the land. Elsewhere they are concentrated and stuck in townships, which are a mixture of slum and concentration camp, from which they are allowed to emerge only with a pass to go and do their work in the white town, which they leave again when they have finished. They must also submit to being refused to qualify professionally, that is to say "job reservation," which is the law by which qualified professions are reserved for the whites, and which prevents Africans going higher than manual or semi-skilled work.

They have no cultural rights. The regime boasts of having 70 % of African children in schools, but in effect they are

taught according to what the ex-Prime Minister Verwoerd said: they are taught their place, that is to say first and foremost that a black is inferior to a white, that a black is inferior to a man, in effect that they are sub-men. They pay to learn that they are sub-men. The result is that only 20 % of the pupils go through the second year of school, and this figure falls in the third year to about 2 %.

This entity, political and practical, which we call apartheid, is forced to rely on police terror. Habeus corpus has practically been suppressed for 14 million inhabitants. In the townships there are constant police raids, sometimes every night for weeks. Searches, beatings-up, arrests of any kind. They can keep in the police station without an appearance before a judge, for 180 days, any person likely to be a State witness, and naturally during those 180 days the police don't hesitate to use torture. The verdicts which follow are pronounced behind closed doors. In practical terms an African has no way of protecting himself. He is constantly a suspect, and a suspect who can from one day to the next be arrested and held for years. Moreover very often a man who has served his sentence is kept in prison under the excellent pretext that in this way he is being protected from his enemies and also from the temptation to relapse into political 'error'. This then is the practice of apartheid.

### WHITES FEAR ALSO THEMSELVES

This practise is justified by one theory : it is integral racism, the absolute superiority of the whites over all the another races. The necessity for procuring cheap manual labour for which the wages are almost nil necessitates keeping men in slavery. Consequently the whites of South Africa naturally



label as 'sub-men' those whom they treat in effect as sub-men.

This forces the white man to treat himself as a sub-man. There is no other country where anti-Semitism is more adhered to and more rigorous than in South Africa. They don't like the English very much either and they call them the Anglo-Jews. That reminds us of something we heard once before. Moreover, terror is exercised against the white liberals themselves : there is a law against Communism which permits them to arrest anyone; the 180-days law which applies also to the whites in cases where they are suspected of interesting themselves in the cause of the blacks, enables terror to live and nourish itself in the white circles themselves. The whites spend their time in angry fear of the blacks and in fear of themselves.

## CULTURE PROHIBITED TO ALL

In addition the same terror exercises itself in the intellectual domain. The majority of the foreign instruments of culture are prohibited. There are a great number of books (including those of Karl Marx of course) which are banned. There is no television. The literature of that area is nil. One leads a luxurious and dismal life where one stifles oneself little by little. The result, as sociological research has been able to show, is that the standard of white schools is abnormally low. The law which preserves qualified employment for the whites, given that the whites are not very numerous, has resulted in a scarcity of qualified manual labour : they are obliged to seek immigrants for South Africa from various western countries.

In short one can say that down there the very principle of racism leads the whites to render themselves very inferior to those whom they oppress. For them as for the blacks it is hell, with this difference, that it is a hell which they have chosen.

## ENCOURAGES FASCIST MOVEMENTS

I stated that this cancer risked becoming generalised. It is largely because there is a tacit agreement and real bonds between South Africa, Portugal and the illegal regime of Rhodesia, and this agreement is more aggressive than defensive. Many Afrikaners (Boers) don't hide the idea of an imperialism which would stretch over the whole of Africa. Moreover this idea, that a strong state can practise apartheid (that is to say racism) right to its most implacable consequences, with total impunity, is one of the sources for the resurgence of nazism in Europe and the United States. It encourages young fascist movements, and these fascist movements which also find a real base in Southern Africa, insert into their program, among the three or four major principles, the defence of apartheid and the defence of the South African government.

In Africa itself the African states have condemned apartheid at the OAU. Their just indignation threatens to dangerously modify their concept of multi-racial unity and, justifiably, the trust which they placed until now in their European friends.

## WAR OF LIBERATION

With admirable courage, in spite of all the difficulties, a certain number of organizations struggle against this ignoble re-

gime. Organizations have been created, one might say, in the worst conditions. They move, under the direct influence of the situation and of the terror, from nonviolent resistance to the setting up of organs of action, which will carry out violence.

The day when the conflict breaks, it will not be civil war, but a war of independence, a war of liberation, which could entail conflagration throughout Africa. For one cannot imagine that the African states would allow their brothers to be massacred without intervening, and the conflict will not remain within the limits of Africa alone. There is no doubt that at that moment the peace of the world will be directly threatened. UNO will be troubled. For is it not founded on the principle : to eliminate all forms of racial discrimination? Since 1963 the Assembly has asked the member states to break diplomatic relations with South Africa and to boycott her products, to stop trading with her. So where are we today? The Special Committee which was constituted by UNO to study the problem of the racial policies of South Africa declares: "South Africa has been encouraged to pursue its disas-

# Sechaba

# NEWS ITEMS

### 1. VORSTER LEADS TRIBUTE TO PRO-NAZI

Vorster; South African Prime Minister, last month brushed aside criticism of his continuing association with the Ossewa Brandwag, a pro-Nazi movement in South Africa which opposed South Africa's fighting on the side of the Allies in the last war.

"A man must never dissociate himself from his history or be ashamed of it," he said in Pretoria, where he unveiled a monument at the grave of Dr J. van Rensburg, Commandant-General of the Ossewa Brandwag.

Members of the United Party, official Opposition, were reported to have been shocked when Vorster agreed to be guest of honour and main speaker at a reunion of Ossewa Brandwag members who had been interned during the war. Mr Vorster himself was interned for 17 months because of pro-Nazi activities.

Certain "petty" people, stated Vorster, had felt affronted because he had agreed to attend the two occasions in his capacity of Prime Minister. But any man who was ashamed of his past was worth nothing.

### 2. S. AFRICA-W. GERMAN A-TEST PACT

West Germany has concluded "far-reaching agreements" with South Africa to produce and test nuclear weapons on South African territory, said the German Democratic Republic in a statement read to the Geneva conference. The statement recalled that West Germany had undertaken not to produce nuclear weapons only "on her own territory". Producing them in South Africa evaded this promise.



trous policies through the persistent opposition of certain great powers who are the principal commercial partners of South Africa." This in August 1966. Who are her principal partners? The UNO text says: "England, the United States, West Germany, Japan, Italy, Canada and France."

## PUT OUR HOUSE IN ORDER

It is for each one to put his own house in order. Since we are in France, we must see what characterises the 'partnership' for France. Firstly, commercial exchanges: from 1961 to 1965 the volume of trade has doubled. Investments: there are in South Africa affiliated industries of Renault, Peugeot, Berliet, Thomson-Houston; French investments hold third place after England and the United States. Scientific and technical co-operation is developing. The French have set up a satellite-tracking station near Pretoria. South African specialists in space research are being trained at the CNRS. French technicians are sent for oil prospecting which is just now being undertaken in South Africa. All this develops in a "climate of friendship." In March 1963 the representative of Thomson-Houston declared in South Africa where he had gone: "The political situation is good, and the government has things well under control. There is no reason why that should change."

The fact is that the French government is the first to encourage relations with South Africa. On 7 January 1966, France refused to reply to questions put by U Thant on the non-fulfilment of the embargo on arms. And no wonder: our country has never ceased selling arms to South Africa. They sell Panhard armoured cars, they sell Alouette helicopters, they sell Mystere and Mirage planes. There is a study and test contract of the Thomson-Houston company in connection with about 20 tele-guided sol-air battery engines. To justify this attitude, you will appreciate this admirable phrase of Maitre Roux, UNR deputy, on his return from visiting this country of hate and fear, in which the whole society feels sick: "This Republic belongs to Western culture." Either it is naive or else a curious confession about what we are.

## ACCOMPLICES TO TERROR

As for the government, he declares that in this case he is only applying his principles of non-intervention in domestic affairs. But I will show you the sinister aspect of this joke. How can it be? A country gives itself the government it wants when 75 % of the population are slaves and have no rights of voting and assembly? When this 75 % cannot voice their opinion without being put in prison, will we say that this country has given itself the government it wants? In fact, selling arms to the masters so that they can continue their bloody domination over the slaves, that is indeed intervention. It is an attack on national sovereignty: because this sovereignty should not belong to the whites; at best it could express itself in universal suffrage which does not exist.

Consequently the principle of the government is a totally false principle. Several times peaceful Africans have been machine-gunned in South Africa : who can say that the next time it will not be with French planes? And how can we permit that the French government, which has proclaimed its solidarity with the nations which have newly acquired inde-

pendence, should be an accomplice to the terror and the massacre which the colonialists at the foot of Africa impose upon the colonised people to prevent them achieving independence?

A letter from Mr Marhof, President of the Special Committee set up by the UNO to study the racial question in South Africa, contains a passage which should be particularly painful to us. "It is difficult for me" he writes, "to hide tendencies in the official attitude of France which do not augur anything good for the future of liberty and equality so dear to the French people. Through the growth of its volume of trade with South Africa, through the massive sending of weapons of death to the fascist regime of Pretoria, by its guilty and complicit position in the United Nations, and by its scorn for all the resolutions adopted on the question of apartheid, the French government is in the process of deceiving even its most avid supporters."

## CEASE THE SCANDAL

The French government should cease the scandal and should apply to the letter the recommendations of UNO. What exactly are the ways of helping the organizations which have been set up for some time to resist the terror in South Africa? It is not up to me to tell you, but we can first of all point out one : it is information. Firstly the French public must be informed; for if they were in the know about the way in which men treat men in South Africa, they could not help but join in our struggle. They could not help joining us because even the French colon in Algeria could be considered an angel beside the South African government : we were terrible, but they are a hundred times more terrible.

## PRACTICAL SOLIDARITY

Thereafter one proposes to affirm our solidarity with the resistance movements, a solidarity which must not only be a verbal solidarity, but a practical and efficacious solidarity. These men, whose heroism is to fight alone, must be made to know that they are not alone, and that not only has UNO condemned apartheid, but also private organizations in every corner of the world, to which the big trade unions belong, to which the churches belong, to which men in general belong, without distinction, are with them.

If we could not succeed, not only in France but elsewhere, in facing the struggle with the majority in a profound and serious state of mind, we would be responsible and complicit by our passivity in an intolerable neo-nazism which is virulent and will come from South Africa and infect even Europe.

This is what we must understand in the words of Mr Marhof in his letter : "The official attitude of France augurs nothing good for the future of liberty and equality." Do understand what that means: if we go on tolerating these practices, then this hub of fascism which is South Africa will send back to us the fascists who will teach us our sorrow.

*(Editor's note : This is an abridged version of a speech to the Liaison Committee of Anti-Apartheid Movements in Western Europe, by Jean-Paul Sartre; the speech was delivered before armed members of Umkhonto We Sizwe entered Rhodesia.)*





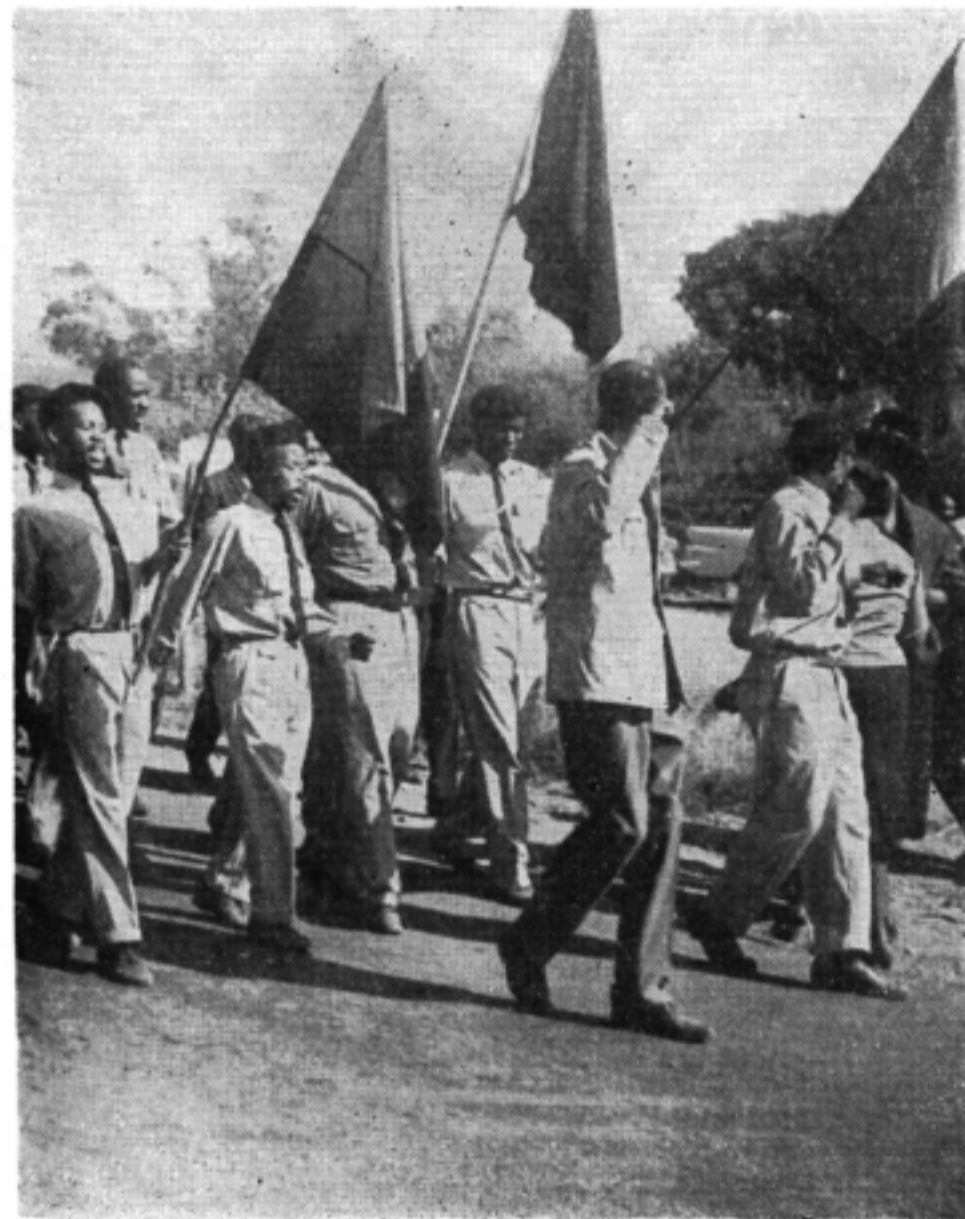
# LAST JOURNEY TO GROUTVILLE

A South African correspondent writes his personal impressions of Chief Lutuli's funeral

From the tears and sadness a glowing dedication was reborn. The tiny Groutville Congregational Church in the sugarcane valley overlooking the Umvoti River was unprepared for and overwhelmed by the flood of over 7,000 South Africans who came to mourn the passing of our great leader, Chief Albert John Lutuli, on 30 July this year.

Diplomats arrived in chauffeur-driven limousines. Workers and country people arrived in packed buses and lorries. Some

*Photos above and below : Section of the 7,000 who attended Chief Lutuli's funeral, marching along the road led by men in ANC uniforms and carrying ANC colours*



of those present came on official missions. The police came to see who was there. The vast majority of Africans and Indians were present because this man had been a part of their lives, and the spirit and passion which emerged at this funeral were a true expression of the feelings of the South African people. The church was filled by 9 a. m., two hours before the service was scheduled to begin. Hundreds waited in line to file past the coffin and look their last on probably the most important contemporary leader of an emergent African revolution. All round the small building others crowded around the loudspeakers which had been hastily installed. Lutuli had been confined for 8 years to this small area of northern Natal. Now his friends came to see him, finally consigned to his rich earth.

## FREEDOM SALUTE

At the bottom of the hill, a procession formed to march in military style to the church. At least 500 men and women gathered in proud columns, their fists clenched in the ANC Freedom Salute, to climb the hill. Many were uniformed in the ANC colours and five black-green-gold flags led the procession. Even conservative newspapers were forced to report that "if the ANC was not there in person it was certainly there in spirit."

The gathering was disciplined and well-organised. It unleashed old slogans, and the people boisterously sang forbidden Freedom Songs. When this group reached the church, the other mourners stepped aside while the flagbearers entered the church and encircled the coffin, draping their standards over it. This uniformed guard of honour was to remain there throughout the ceremony. There was no doubt that it belonged there.

The ceremony was long and filled with emotion. While Christian churchmen praised the late Chief's 'non-violent stand', the mood among the mourners packed in the church and standing in the 80° winter sun was anything but pacific. At the slightest reference to the injustices which Chief fought, cries of 'Amandla' and even 'Uhuru' could be heard. Just before the burial, an unnamed African, not mentioned in the programme, commandeered the microphone and passionately ap-



pealed in Zulu to our countrymen to stand up against the white man. The more than 20 plainclothes Special Branch men present winced as he was encouraged and applauded.

## WORLD TRIBUTES

Hundreds of tributes to Lutuli were acknowledged. The Swedish, Norwegian, Danish, Canadian, British and American consulates sent diplomats and wreaths. Each official—including a special spokesman from the Nobel Peace Prize Committee — recited well-composed statements while two television cameras recorded the proceedings for posterity.

But the most interesting and sincere words came from Lutuli's colleagues: fellow chiefs, teachers, ministers and friends. While some of the ministers appeared to substitute involved biblical parallels for hard-hitting commentary, others had fewer inhibitions. Alan Paton's talk cut through the rhetoric that at times appeared to obscure Lutuli's political leadership. It brought smiles and tears and was punctuated by vocal assent. The mourners hung on every word.

"I am not allowed by some foolish law to tell you what he said" Paton began with a withering glare at the five policemen sitting in front of me, "but I can tell you what he did . . . he fought for the rights of the poor and dispossessed." Paton paused, his voice stirred with emotion. "He was banned but history cannot be banned. History will say that a noble voice was silenced when it would have been better for all of us if it had been heard." An ANC-uniformed African, his fist still tightly clenched above his head in salute, stared at the police defiantly. "They took away his freedom but he never ceased to be free."

At the end of his tribute, Alan Paton invoked the hope and determination which kept Lutuli and the ANC resistance alive and still active:

"The sun rises  
The sun sets  
And tomorrow it rises again.  
Nkosi Sikelele Afrika."

## NUSAS TRIBUTE

Extending the condolences of at least some of South Africa's white students, Margaret Marshall, president of the embattled National Union of South African Students, used the platform to praise Lutuli and attack the apartheid laws he fought so hard. Chief Lutuli had been elected honorary President of NUSAS for the past five years but his banning order prevented him from having any contact with the student group.



## Chief Albert John Lutuli

There was no sentiment in Miss Marshall's talk. She spoke bluntly of the despair many young whites felt as apartheid gradually and systematically encircled their lives and circumscribed their opposition. She said she hoped the whites would be liberated along with the rest of the country before the "inevitable" conflict which all the speakers alluded to assumed its ultimate tragic trajectory.

Chief's widow, Mrs Nokukhanya Lutuli, and his family sat dignified and composed in the front of the church, giving him the support which had meant so much to him in his lifetime. On the hillside, in the glare of the sun, the Africans stood for hour after hour, expressing their devotion to Chief and the ideals he worked for.

To all who were present, this funeral was not only an occasion for grief but expressed a deep resurgence of the spirit of the African people, uncrushed by oppression. In their hearts, the flame burns on.

*While the Women's Federation and others marched to the funeral of our President-General, the world mourned his passing. In London, a memorial service was held at St Paul's Cathedral. The photo left shows Dr Y.M. Dadoo, President of the South African Indian Congress, and Robert Resha, Executive Member of the ANC, leaving St Paul's after the service.*



# NO COMPROMISE

by Thami Mhlambiso,

Member of the ANC Youth & Students Section

Pinpointing a few of the 10,000 political prisoners in South Africa, and replying to the Progressive Party of South Africa which has come out on the side of Vorster's regime and against the peoples' struggle launched by the partisans of ZAPU and the ANC in Rhodesia.

"We, the people of South Africa, declare for all our country and the world to know: That our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality."

That is an excerpt from the great Freedom Charter, adopted at the Congress of the People in Kliptown on 26 June 1955. I still have a vivid picture in my mind of the thousands that came to the historic Congress. The Freedom Charter was the culmination of many months and years of preparatory work in the rural areas, the townships and the suburbs. During lunch-hours, between draughts games played on the pavements, intense discussions on fundamental issues took place. The people marshalled their ideas so that their leaders might have a clear picture of their idea of a free South Africa. For days before the Congress peasants on horseback and on foot journeyed to the nearest stations where they could board trains for the Reef. The result of the Congress was the Freedom Charter.

Now, some ten years since the solemn declaration at Klip-town, to fight for a people's democratic South Africa, their sons are giving their lives for the freedom they sought to enunciate in the Charter.

I propose to explain some incidents in the lives of some few of the freedom-fighters, so that even the Progressive Party of South Africa may learn, while there remains time to do so, that the struggle of the oppressed peoples of South Africa is principled and revolutionary.

We shall do well to remember that some of the youth-leaguers involved in the battle were youngsters at the time of the Freedom Charter. Their ruthless opposition to Bantu Education and the pass laws had, however, assumed some definition. Some of them acted as voluntary teachers at the Congress Schools set up by the people in opposition to the Government Schools that were taken over by the Department of Bantu Affairs from the missionaries. Some of these men have now grown in status and have assumed leadership of the now outlawed African National Congress of South Africa.

There is the vivid case of T.M., a man who was whisked away by the government's political police, the notorious Special Branch, from a classroom at Lovedale Institution in Alice. T.M., a young and fervent youth leaguer, did not for a moment know what he was in for. Within a few hours he was in Pretoria among 155 other Congressites, charged with High Treason. No one knows where he is today. I have no doubt that he will emerge to the surface when the criminals administering apartheid are formally indicted by the people. There are many others in the same position as T.M.

There is the case of Zola Mjo, nineteen years old during his arrest, now serving twenty years imprisonment in the in-

famous Robben Island prison for political prisoners. Charged with sabotage, Zola proclaimed at the announcement of the sentence that he would do exactly what he had done again, even if he were to be sentenced to 50 years' imprisonment.

Countless members of the Youth League are today languishing behind prison bars in South Africa. They are part of the total of 10,000 prisoners and innumerable ex-political prisoners who are now in concentration camps, known as "transit camps."

Among those in the prisons is Zola Nqini, a brilliant scholar from the small dorp of Uitenhage, a graduate of Fort Hare who was refused a passport to further his studies abroad. His love for justice led him to involvement in the Trade Union Movement in Port Elizabeth, a movement which he served with unswerving loyalty until his arrest in 1963.

Some of the men now in prison for their opposition to unjust laws would have benefited any country by virtue of their academic standing alone. Andrew Masonda, a lecturer in Applied Mathematics, was sentenced to 12 years for sabotage in 1963. Today he is serving 20 years imprisonment as a result of an additional sentence imposed in 1964 when he was charged with membership and participation in the activities of the African National Congress. In the same prison is Louis Mtshizana, a lawyer of no mean reputation. For what Congressites consider legal work connected with his profession, Mtshizana was sentenced to 4½ years. He was, subsequent to his imprisonment, struck off the roll of attorneys for what was alleged to be behaviour unbecoming a man of his profession. May we point out that to fight against the obnoxious apartheid laws in a legally recognised manner is the quickest way for a non-white attorney to earn a banning order. South Africa is now denied, in Mtshizana, the services of yet another prominent attorney.

Dr Pascal Ngakane, the son-in-law of the late President-General of the ANC, Chief Albert Lutuli, is now restricted to a small and remote area in Natal. This is after serving a period of 2¾ years imprisonment: in South Africa, once a victim of the fascist regime means always a victim of the dragnet that is set for all the opponents of the policy of apartheid.

The people have thus been compelled to accept the fact that all those who stand for the natural rights of their people must go to prison. Thus Mrs . . . , undaunted by the vicious South African police, said when her husband was sentenced to 12 years: "You are a man. Go to prison. I am proud of you." The blood in me still floods my face whenever this occasion comes to mind. And this is the case also with all those who know what peril this woman might have earned herself by such an utterance.



## PROGRESSIVE PARTY ATTITUDE

Today the opposition against apartheid has reached a new phase. Just after the death of our President-General, the Luthuli Combat Unit delivered telling blows against the forces of the rebel Smith regime and the murderous Vorster army.

The Progressive Party of South Africa has been quick to come out in support of the move by the South African regime in sending its armed men into Rhodesia to fight against our freedom-fighters.

The Progressive Party, who profess to be friends of the oppressed peoples in South Africa, need to be reminded that time and time again the people tried to fight apartheid by peaceful and legal means.

Early in 1961, several months before Umkonto We Sizwe was formed, the African people meeting in conference at Pietermaritzburg, called for a National Convention in which leaders of all degrees of political opinions and of all colours would participate. Here was an opportunity to settle some of the political problems that beset our country. What was the reply of the Government? It was the Declaration of the State of Emergency; the imprisonment of hundreds of opponents of apartheid; the promulgation of the 90-day detention act; the escalation of the massacre of the African people exemplified at Langa and at Sharpeville; and the victimization of lecturers and students at the College of Fort Hare.

The Progressive Party and its followers cannot for a moment deny that the history of South Africa is stained with the blood of the non-whites who have been the subject of police terror from time immemorial. Dare the Progressive Party deny that the government has closed the door to all negotiation for a peaceful settlement?

The Progressive Party with its leaders Dr Steytler and Mrs Helen Suzman has declared its resolute determination to assist the fascist government in routing the Freedom-Fighters. They declare with Vorster that there are no more than 2,000 trained guerillas belonging to Umkonto We Sizwe, the military wing of the ANC. Just where they get their figures from is an enigma to all those of us involved in the National Liberation Movement.

The truth of the matter is that there are as many freedom fighters as there are oppressed non-whites in South Africa. You see them in the rural areas, you see them in the towns, you see them in the factories and also in the homes of white South Africans as servants and "nannies." These are the men and women the Progressive Party would like to see remaining in bondage for the rest of their lives.

Our Freedom Charter declares that "no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people." Whose support have Vorster and Steytler?

The Progressive Party, with one Member of Parliament elected by an all-white electorate, has declared in no uncertain terms where they stand in relation to the just struggle of the oppressed peoples of South Africa. As to their future: the writing is on the wall.



## HUMAN RIGHTS DAY

10 December is Human Rights Day. The photograph above is an example of a police officer in South Africa searching an African. Ironically, above the victim is a poster drawing attention to Human Rights Day, taken some years ago. Actions such as the above have been a part of the whole gamut of apartheid oppression which has now led to the only remaining solution — the taking up of arms to fight for freedom and democracy in South Africa. The United Nations has declared 1968 as Human Rights Year. South African non-whites are denied almost every single basic human right.

They have no vote.

They are segregated racially into ghettos.

They cannot choose their place of work.

They are denied entry into skilled jobs.

They are restricted from owning land.

They may not live where they wish to.

They are deported, banned and banished and house-arrested without trial.

The privacy of their homes can be invaded at any time of the day or night.

They can be searched in the street, at home or at their place of work without a search warrant.

They can be arrested without trial and held without appearance before any court.

They cannot attend any of the leading universities.

We urge all democrats to take part in the world-wide campaign for human rights and to focus the attention of their peoples and governments on the tyranny of white minority rule in South Africa.



# LETTER TO THE EDITOR

The recent article on the Terrorist Act is a useful contribution to the study of this dreadful law. I think it is important that we should examine it carefully, as I suspect that it is a mine of evil which becomes apparent only on closer examination.

I am struck by what may prove to be an important difference between the wording of Sec 6(5) of this Act, and of the 180-day section of the Criminal Procedure Act. The 180-day section prohibits the courts from ordering the release of a detainee under that section, or from examining the regulations made in terms of that section, or arrangements or conditions of any visits a detainee is allowed. But the section of the new Act simply says: 'No court of law shall pronounce upon the validity of any action taken under this section, or order the release of any detainee.' I fear that this may mean that, however slight the protection a detainee may have had under the 180-day section, he would here have none at all.

In one case, the Supreme Court sent to the Attorney-General allegations of torture made by a 180-day detainee. Even though nothing came of it, it might be that even that small hope has now been removed. Clearly, we must expect neither justice nor humanity from South Africa till we have our own courts and judges. — M.B.

*A section of the demonstration protesting against Dr Banda's betrayal of African Unity by co-operating with the fascist Vorster regime in South Africa.*

*The organisers of the demonstration — ANC Youth & Students Section, Tanzania Students Association, UAR Students Society, Sudanese Students Union, Ghana Students Union, and the Ethiopian Students Association — in a letter addressed to Dr Banda condemning him for his government's behaviour, state :—*

*"When you led the struggle of the people of Malawi against British Imperialism, you also stood against the white minority governments in Africa. Now, we can only assume that you have been bought by these governments — the price being that you should betray the African people . . .*

*"Africa will not enter into friendship with fascist governments, nor will she negotiate. We call on you, Dr Banda, to desist from following your treacherous path. We demand you join hands with your African brothers . . ."*





# FOR CHIEF

## A TRIBUTE TO ALBERT JOHN LUTULI

by Dennis Brutus

Director of the World Campaign for the Release of South African Political Prisoners

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1

So the old leonine heart is stilled  
the grave composure of the carven face  
matched at last by a stillness overall  
the measure of bitterness, totally filled  
brims to the tautness of exhausted space  
and he who sustained a faith in grace  
believing men crippled could still walk tall  
in the thorn-thickets of corrupting power  
and more dear the central humanity  
than any abstractions of time or place  
daring to challenge, refusing to cower  
mangled even at the end, he lies quiet  
his stillness no less an assertion of faith  
and the indestructible stubbornness of will.

2

So the machine breaks you  
and you fall  
still fighting grimly.  
The years epitomize  
in this harsh act  
of many:  
Should one despair  
knowing how great the power  
how unavailing opposition?  
Yet your great soul  
asserts a worth –  
transcendant humanity.  
There is a valour  
greater than victory:  
Greatness endures.

3

And the people mourn  
the millions mourn,  
the sorrowing land

is plunged in deeper sorrow:

When will the soft rains dissolve the entire land-  
scape at dusk?

Sorrow and anger stir,  
dull pain and truculent woe,  
and bitterness slowly seethes  
till fury cauldrons from pain –  
Oh when will the blind storms rampage the  
landscape in the dark?

4

Return to us  
when sunset smoulders on the smooth horizon,  
when the trees are starkly black  
and beautiful  
against the red and mauve of the sky  
Return to us  
when woodsmoke comes sweet and poignant  
from the fields at dusk  
after the winds of our fury have breathed  
on the smouldering coals of our anger  
and our fierce destruction has raged  
O great patient enduring spirit  
return to us.

5

O grave and statuesque man  
stand along our paths,  
overlook our ways.  
Goad us by your calm regard  
fire us with your desire,  
steel us with your will.  
Spirit of freedom and courage  
guard us from despair  
brood over us with your faith.  
Fire the flagging and the faint,  
spur us to fierce resolve,  
drive us to fight and win.