

SECHABABA

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GUERRILLAS DEEP INSIDE ZIMBABWE

Page 3

An eye-witness account of what is going on in Zimbabwe

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

Items showing the insanity of racism in its last bastion

SECHABA

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EDITOR'S NOTE

AN IMPORTANT ANNOUNCEMENT

With this issue, Sechaba begins its third year of publication. Through the staunch and, in many cases unstinting support of our subscribers and donors, we are able to look back upon a very successful period during which our journal has helped in educating and organising a large body of people, all over the world, in support of the fighting peoples of South Africa.

We are, however, not satisfied with our achievements. There are large areas still ignorant of what is going on in Apartheid South Africa. Many people still do not realise that naked fascism is firmly entrenched in our country and that the policies of the Vorster regime are leading to widespread armed conflict in South Africa. What is worse this conflict threatens to engulf the whole of the African continent.

The responsibilities of Sechaba are thus considerably increased: we must report on, publicise and defend our policy as against that which is pursued by the present rulers of South Africa.

The development of armed struggle in Southern Africa must be shown for what it truly is: **THE BEGINNING OF A RACIAL WAR WHICH WILL RAPIDLY ESCALATE INTO AN INTERNATIONAL CONFRONTATION OF MEASURELESS DIMENSIONS.**

In order to rally the maximum support for our movement in its struggle to establish a non-racial democracy in South Africa, our Management Committee has taken a bold step to ensure wider circulation of our journal.

WE HAVE REDUCED THE PRICE OF OUR JOURNAL FROM 2/6d to 1/- per copy (Annual Subscription 15/-; USA & Canada \$ 3.00).

Several factors make us confident that we will be able to maintain and improve the standard we have set despite the loss of revenue due to the reduction in price.

ONE: We have changed our printers who are charging us only 10% more than we have been paying for twice the number of copies we have been printing hitherto.

TWO: We have reduced our full-time staff to only two persons.

THREE: A number of Congress youth and students have agreed to work harder than they have done and on a voluntary basis in the evenings and during the week ends.

FOUR: We are confident that those who are already subscribers, will, when they renew their subscriptions, contribute a minimum of the 15/- we now lose on annual subscriptions, towards our printing costs.

We appeal to all our many supporters who have helped us during the last two years to do all they can to popularise our journal among their immediate contacts and friends; to get their local newsagents to place our journal on their news stands; to contribute and raise funds for Sechaba which unlike other journals is not an observer but an active participant in the struggle for freedom and democracy for all in South Africa.



GUERRILLAS DEEP INSIDE ZIMBABWE

First eye witness account of what is going on Zimbabwe

Coffins transported to the battle areas for Rhodesian and South African dead; heavily armed freedom fighters penetrating deep into Zimbabwe; the terrorisation of the local population by the racist forces; ill-treatment of detainees — these are features of a report given to Sechaba by Mr. Herbert Thompson who visited London from Zimbabwe during October and November.

Mr. Thompson is President of the National Association of Coloured People in Zimbabwe, and is at present in Britain with other prominent figures to make known to the British Parliament and public the true facts of what is happening in their country.

In an interview with Sechaba, Mr. Thompson said that heavy fighting between guerrillas and the white racist troops of Smith and Vorster had been going on, on several occasions just before he left Zimbabwe. He left the country on October 4. It was clear the concentration of troops moving towards the north, and from the truck- and jeep-loads of coffins shipped to the areas, that the racists were suffering considerably.

DOMA VALLEY CLASHES

Fighting had been going on especially near Doma, about forty miles from Sinoia, according to Mr. Thompson. Clashes

between freedom fighters and the Smith-Vorster troops also took place beyond the Doma valley. Mr. Thompson said he had knowledge of nine racist soldiers killed in the latter area, although the regime only reported two dead in the battle.

Helicopters have also brought back obvious casualties, as most of them landed in hospital grounds. Several of these helicopters have been seen arriving at hospitals.

The claim that only South African police are assisting Smith's forces is all nonsense, Mr. Thompson told Sechaba. South African army trucks and soldiers are moving unconcealed about the country. According to his estimation there is a South African soldier for every one of Smith's in the field.

NEWS BLACKOUT

All news of the fighting between the guerrillas and racist forces are kept from the newspapers, but the local population know all the facts and pass them on regularly.

Apart from the army in the field, all white adult male farmers in Zimbabwe are either in the police reserve or doing military training. They are all under stand-by orders for 24 hours a day.



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Mr. Thompson said that the activities of the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe had done more to shake Smith's regime than any threat of sanctions had done.

Freedom fighters, well-trained and heavily armed are deep inside Zimbabwe already, according to the reports of local people. They are also recruiting and training new members for the liberation forces.

Unable to cope with the the freedom fighters, Smith's troops have mounted a campaign of terror against African inhabitants of the countryside.

VILLAGERS KILLED

Reports indicate that anybody refusing to give information about freedom fighters are threatened with imprisonment or shot out of hand. At a village at Kazangarare, according to two separate sources, the heads of two families accused of harbouring guerrillas were taken into the veld. Shots were heard and the men were never seen again. In each case their huts were burned to the ground.

In the same area, anybody seen in the bush, carrying wood or water, was shot at by the fascist troops. The dead included small children tied to their mothers' backs.

Near the Rukomechi River a helicopter crew turned their machine guns on African villagers. Later troops cordoned off villages which then became inaccessible for several weeks, and people were warned that they would be shot if caught in the area.

At villages near the Zambesi, South African and Rhodesian troops seized villagers, forced them to dress up to look like guerrillas, gave them arms and ordered them to run. The innocent villagers were then mown down and photographed as they fled, apparently to show how incompetent the freedom fighters were in action.

DETAINEES STARVED

Mr. Thompson also told Sechaba that opponents of the racist regime detained in prison or restricted to encampments were being very badly treated.

These detained were not allowed clothes or food from outside the prisons, and people released came out in rags, still wearing the clothes they were in when they were arrested four years ago. Apart from this, they were released

showing signs of obvious starvation. One man was going blind when released. Three women and a man released recently had to be treated for malnutrition. There were also the signs of kwashiokor in the case of others, although this sickness is claimed to attack only children Mr. Thompson said.

In the Gonakudzingwa area there are five detention camps. Number One camp has now been taken over by the Rhodesian army for military administration.

All contacts between camps have been cut and the camps are under heavy guard by soldiers spaced every few yards around the perimeter fence and heavily armed.

While formerly a railway halt had been established for visitors who came by train to see the detainees, this halt has now been closed down. Relatives and friends on visits must now alight from the train at Nyala, nine miles away. The particular train serving the visitors usually arrives at 10 p.m. The army and police refuse transport for these people, and they have to walk for hours through wild bush country to arrive at the camps in the dark hours of the morning.

Rations served to detainees in the camps consist of 9 lbs of mealie-meal per week, 4 ounces of meat daily, 4 ounces of vegetables, about an ounce of margarine, some fat, sugar and salt.

Visitors to detainees are being searched to the skin, including women and children, before they are allowed to talk to their people through the wire fences, always under the eyes of armed sentries. No contact is allowed between visitors and detainees.

JOSHUA NKOMO

Mr. Thompson reports that Mr. Joshua Nkomo, President of ZAPU, and four other colleagues have been moved to what was formerly a camp for Coloured detainees and are thus forcibly out of touch with their fellow ZAPU colleagues.

Mr. Herbert Thompson said that he had had discussions with George Thompson, Britain's Minister in charge of Rhodesian negotiations, shortly before the latter flew to Salisbury.

He warned Mr. George Thompson that he was unlikely to form any true impression of what life was really like for the four million Africans in Zimbabwe, as the Smith regime would allow him to see only what it wished him to see.



ZAPU — ALLIES IN REVOLUTION

By the time this article appears in print, we expect the Wilson Government to have sold out to the illegal Smith regime in Rhodesia. If agreement between Smith and Wilson is not conclusive it will not be for the lack of effort at a dishonourable compromise by Mr. Wilson. It is timely, therefore, to know more about the real opposition to White Supremist rule in Rhodesia.

This brief history of the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) is published with a view to informing our readers of this opposition.

Zapu, we have no doubt, will form the first democratic government of a free and independent Zimbabwe.

HISTORICAL

The history of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, the main organ of popular resistance to the Smith regime in Rhodesia, can be traced back to the formation of the first African National Congress in Southern Rhodesia after the first world war, inspired by the foundation of the African National Congress of South Africa in 1912 in protest against the formation of Union in 1910. The Rhodesian ANC of this early period never managed to get its roots down amongst the masses of the people and remained a minority movement until, after a few years, it ceased to function.

A.N.C. YOUTH LEAGUE

Renewed impetus was given to the national liberation movement in Rhodesia by the spread of the African independence movement throughout the African continent after the second world war. In 1955 an African National Congress Youth League was formed in Rhodesia, under the leadership of George Nyandoro and J.R.D. Chikerema. In 1957 this developed into the full fledged African National Congress with Joshua Nkomo as its President,

James Chikerema as Vice-President, and Georges Nyandoro as Secretary-General.

It is significant that both Nkomo and Chikerema, as well as a number of other leaders of ZAPU, received their education in South Africa. Nkomo attended schools in South Africa, and later obtained a degree in social science by correspondence through the University of South Africa. Chikerema studied at the University of Cape Town until his political activities attracted the attention of the South African Police, whereupon he fled to Rhodesia. A considerable portion of the leadership of ZAPU has thus had active contact with the liberation movement in South Africa, one of the most ideologically and organisationally advanced in the whole continent of Africa, and this has undoubtedly been of great importance in the development of ZAPU as the leading force in Rhodesia.

TRADE UNION BACKGROUND

Nkomo, Nyandoro and Jason Moyo had considerable experience in the Trade Union Movement before they entered the political arena. In 1951 Nkomo

became General Secretary of the Rhodesia Railways African Employees Association, which had taken the lead in the strike movement of 1945, and had become one of the most powerful organisations in the country. By 1952 Nkomo had organised 22 branches of the union with a membership of 2,600. Nyandoro, a scion of one of the chiefly families of Mashonoland, had played a leading role in the organisation of workers in the urban areas and later was mainly concerned with the organisation of resistance among farmers and rural workers, against the land and cattle restriction laws of the Rhodesian Government.

FORWARD EVER – BACKWARD NEVER

Under the slogan "Forward Ever, Backward Never", the African National Congress advocated a policy of national unity of all the African people, overcoming tribal and racial barriers alike. The Congress opposed the pass laws and other discriminatory legislation, and pledged to establish a democratic Rhodesia based on the policy of one man one vote. From the beginning the ANC was open to members of all races, and a number of whites, Asians and Coloureds, took out membership cards and associated themselves with the country's premier African organisation.

In 1959, following the political disturbances in Nyasaland, the Rhodesian

Premier, Sir Edgar Whitehead, later to claim recognition as a „liberal“, alleged that a campaign of violence and subversion was being planned in Southern Rhodesia, and he used this excuse to declare a state of emergency, banning the ANC and arresting and detaining several hundred of its leaders, including George Nyandoro, James Chikerema and Jason Moyo. Nkomo was abroad in Africa at the time. Chikerema smuggled a letter out of jail, asking Joshua Nkomo to stay abroad until such time as he was called back by the people.

During their incarceration, Nyandoro, Chikerema, Moyo and others kept the fires of freedom burning; and in prison they drafted the Constitution and policy for a new organisation – the National Democratic Party.

NATIONAL DEMOCRATIC PARTY

On January 1st, 1960, the National Democratic Party was formed as a successor to the ANC, and despite the emergency and threats of arrest, Nkomo returned to Rhodesia to take up the position of President. The NDP retained for the most part the policies and even the leadership of the old ANC, proclaimed its unalterable opposition to the Central African Federation, and called for the establishment of a free Rhodesia based on universal suffrage. The NDP too was banned on December 9, 1961. Eight days later

the Zimbabwe African People's Union (ZAPU) was formed.

In 1961, the British Government, under pressure both from inside and outside Rhodesia to promote African advancement, came forward with a new constitution designed to create the illusion of African participation in government while at the same time preserving real power in white hands. The constitution, which eventually came into force, provided for the creation of a Parliament of 65 members, 50 elected on a predominantly white roll and 15 on a predominantly black roll. Educational and financial qualifications restricted the African electorate to a mere 12,000 out of a population of four million, while practically every adult white became enfranchised. The NDP at first hesitated over the prospect of having African representation in Parliament for the first time, but eventually rejected the fraud constitution and re-dedicated itself to the struggle for one man one vote.

ZAPU BANNED

The struggle sharpened in Rhodesia, and mass action in the form of strikes and boycotts took place in many centres. Police violence against the people met with equally violent response, and there were a number of incidents of burning of houses of Government stooges and informers. In September, 1962, the Rhodesian Government banned ZAPU, and the organisation went underground, the leadership pledging that they would allow no new political party to be formed.

With the banning of ZAPU the Rhodesian Government placed all members of the leadership, including Joshua Nkomo, James Chikerema and George Nyandoro under restriction. They were released in 1963.

The Executive then decided that five of its members should be stationed outside the country to conduct the organisation in the open, while the rest would stay to organise underground. Soon after this decision, however, the President and all the executive members remaining in Zimbabwe were arrested and detained.

Thus Vice-President Chikerema, together with George Nyandoro, Jason Moyo, George Silundika and Edward Ndhlovu – then stationed in Tanzania – were charged with the responsibility of running ZAPU both externally and internally, that is, of co-ordinating the external operations of the

James Chikerema with President Boumediene of Algeria: Others in the photo are Tambo (ANC), Noko (ZAPU), Mondlane (FRELIMO) & Amilcar Gabral Sec-Gen, PAIGC.



movement with its internal underground activities.

When in 1963 a split developed amongst the leadership of ZAPU, a group led by Rev. Sithole formed the opposition ZANU, which remained as a legal organisation until 1964, when it too was banned under emergency regulations.

BROAD SUPPORT

ZAPU has support from the non-African communities. Prominent Whites like former Premier Garfield Todd, is a declared supporter of ZAPU. Leaders of the Coloured and Asian communities are in restriction, in the Gonakudzingwa area together with Joshua Nkomo.

At the first tri-continental conference held at Havana, ZAPU representatives attended in the name of the Rhodesian people. The delegates at this historic conference, which was attended by organisations from Africa, Asia and Latin America, after condemning the Smith-Wilson conspiracy against the African people of Rhodesia, passed a resolution recognising the Zimbabwe African People's Union as the "only Liberation Movement and the only authentic representative of the African people of Zimbabwe." The Conference proclaimed its "active solidarity with the people of Zimbabwe who are engaged in a life and death struggle", and called upon all socialist and independent countries, and all progressive organisations in Africa, Asia and Latin America to provide aid to ZAPU, including all facilities necessary to intensify the struggle to "achieve victory against British colonial rule and imperialism". A special committee consisting of representatives from the United Arab Republic, Cuba and Vietnam, together with a representative of Zimbabwe, was set up, with headquarters in Cairo, to work for the implementation of the resolution.

ZAPU TAKES TO ARMS

As the tri-continental conference declared, the people of Zimbabwe are engaged in a life and death struggle, and have been ever since the illegal Smith Government declared its unilateral independence in November of 1965. The African people, under ZAPU leadership, embarked on a programme of mass strikes and demonstrations, the moment UDI was declared. When their protests were drowned in blood by the Smith butchers, who indulged in an orgy of



Joshua Nkomo, President of ZAPU, now in detention.

violence, mass arrests, torture and brutality, ZAPU resorted to more militant action. They have never had any confidence, either in the bona fides of the Wilson Government or in its policy of sanctions. The absence of offensive action from the British has compelled ZAPU to take up arms in order to liberate the country from the illegal Smith dictatorship. In the struggle launched jointly by the ANC and ZAPU freedom fighters in Zimbabwe in August 1967, many brave Zimbabwe - an sons have already lost their lives. Despite this, the fighting and underground re-organisation goes on.

THE FUTURE

The prospects for the revolution in Zimbabwe and the confidence the ZAPU leadership has of eventually dislodging Smith and his illegal regime in best summed up by George Nyandoro, ZAPU's dynamic Secretary-Ge-

neral who said when interviewed by Sechaba (See Vol.2.No.5):-

"Our revolution will be a complete success! There is no question about it - we shall go on fighting until we are in complete control of our affairs. One need only look back at history, and see how the Algerians fought for their independence against 400,000 French troops in occupation. Today, Algeria is independent. The total settler population of Zimbabwe is only 25,000, but time and again we have been told that the Rhodesian and South African defence forces would prove invincible. We have already disposed of this fallacy forever, in the battlefield in the autumn of last year. Like all peoples fighting for their own liberation, we are armed not only with weapons, but with our own inner, immovable determination to liberate ourselves whatever the odds."

LONG LIVE ZAPU!

THE WRONG MEN ON TRIAL

In 1965 Laurence Gandar, editor of the Rand Daily Mail, broke the newspaper silence on South African prison conditions by publishing three long articles by Harold Strachan, a political prisoner who had spent 3 years in jail for conspiring to commit explosions. A few weeks later the Mail published a full-page spread on electric torture at Cinderella Prison in Boksburg. All statements were sworn to on oath, and the most serious allegations of all were made by two Afrikaner (Boer) warders who said they were sickened by what they saw.

Instead of prosecuting the men responsible for this criminal exercise of power in the prisons, Vorster prosecuted the men who exposed the evil. Instead of having a full-scale enquiry into prison conditions, Vorster placed an even tighter clamp around South Africa's jails.

After three years of prosecutions against warders and ex-convicts, the authorities are now gunning for the Rand Daily Mail itself. The trials have been conducted in an atmosphere of terror in which warders know if they tell the truth they will lose their jobs, and ex-convicts realise they might be sent to prison again.

Yet even in these difficult circumstances, the defence has been able to establish that most of the allegations made in the articles could be true. In the Gandar trial, the prosecution is alleging that only 60 inches of the 210 inches of the original articles are untrue. A comparison of the statements alleged to be untrue with those the prosecution concedes might be true, shows that the prosecution is not challenging some of the most serious allegations made in the Mail articles.

Below are excerpts from the articles. On the left are statements which the prosecution alleges were untrue. On the right are statements which the prosecution concedes might be true. They include details of the most serious and brutal assaults, including electric shock torture. No action is being taken against the men responsible for these crimes. It is not Gandar who should be on trial, but all those responsible for cruelty and torture against helpless victims, and all those who help perpetuate a system in which the machinery of law is used not to protect the majority of the people, but to oppress, humiliate and degrade them.

Statements alleged to be untrue

STRACHAN ARTICLES

Port Elizabeth North End

"We had a flush toilet in the cell which is quite unusual as far as prisons I have been in. But an interesting thing about this toilet was you didn't only defecate in it, but you also washed in it. You brushed your teeth in it.

"The food came from the kitchen in aluminium dishes, always grubby, never free from grease.

"I saw constant assaults on African prisoners . . . There was a particular prisoner . . . whose name was China . . . He looked like a gorilla. He stood around in a reception office . . . and he beat up prisoners.

Prosecution concedes might be true

STRACHAN ARTICLES

Port Elizabeth North End

". . . one would stand up with one's toothbrush while a man was actually sitting on the pan, wait for him to finish and say: 'Come on, get up, I want to brush my teeth.' And he would get up amid all this bloody stink and he would flush the thing. Then a man would flush it again and then dip his toothbrush in the water and brush his teeth. Or wash his hands and face in it . . .

"The blankets were covered with semen stains. They smelled of sweat, were exceedingly thin and worn out, and the place was terribly cold. Many of the windows were broken."

Statements alleged to be untrue

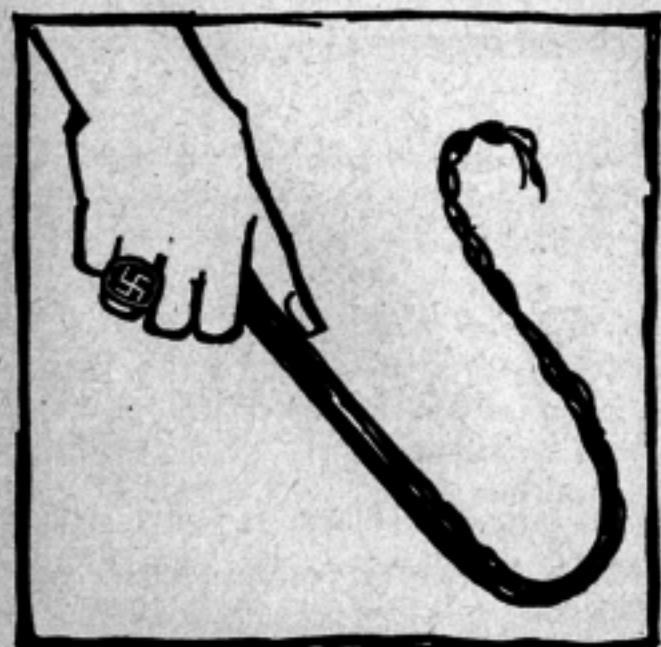
"A few days before I left the jail I saw a particular assault . . . A little Coloured man . . . stood sopping wet. His hands and arms were shaking. As I came in I greeted him and he sprang away. Warden Claassens in the office – he was a huge man – made a few boxing feints at him. The man sort of cowered and fell on the ground from fear. Claassens took off his jacket and said: „Would you like to have my coat to put on? Would you like me to shut the window? Would you like me to go and run you a nice hot bath?"

"He then ordered the little man to go and have a cold shower (the man had attempted to escape from a garden and been made to shower four times without drying himself) . . . Claassens stood up and with full force hit the man in his belly, lifted him clean off his feet and under a table; picked him up and smacked him around the face with his hands. Another warden in the office – Botha – sat and laughed. There was a bucket of dirty water . . . Claassens held the little man by his feet and stuck his head into the bucket . . ."

Pretoria Central

"There was no adequate provision for cleaning utensils . . . Our evening soup came in an ordinary bucket. I have seen section cleaners washing their socks in this bucket.

"The soup dishes and porridge dishes I actually saw being washed in the same trough as the chamber pots were emptied into . . . (They were then) rinsed out under a tap."



Prosecution concedes might be true



Pretoria Central

"It was bitterly cold . . . You had to wear everything you had to keep yourself warm: pajamas, clothing, socks, even shoes, day and night. Even the duster that I used for cleaning my cell I put round my neck. Everything you could get hold of you put on. And you just sat and froze . . . You are not allowed to lie down . . . You just sit.

"This Observation Centre was called the "madhouse" by all the prisoners. I thought when I first went into it that it was called this because psychiatry was practised there. But in fact it was called this not because you were mad when you went in but because you were mad when you came out . . ."

"And I was in that section for about 11 months. Men used to go off their heads in jail and go rushing at the walls and doors of their cells, screaming and weeping, banging with their fists and kicking.

". . . (Ten men emptied their lavatory pans into an overflowing trough.) My cell was next to this lavatory and the smell was appalling. The stuff would be trodden right up the entire length of the corridor and into my cell. We would have to sit and eat each morning's porridge in this mess.

"When I first entered the main gate of Central I knew where to look for the gallows . . . the old hands had told me: as you come in the main gate, look up across the huge black-floored hall and you will see a Silence notice. Look just under that notice and that is the gallows cell.

"Executions were held about every ten days. Days beforehand the condemned start singing, and being Africans most of them, they can't help singing harmoniously. But as the time wears on the singing gets more and more ragged. The last two days and nights they just sing right through: "Nearer My God To Thee" – I never want to hear any such hymns

Statements alleged to be untrue

Pretoria Local

"Orders were often accompanied by blows. We saw Africans being driven into the Section – we peeked through our windows – they were being driven like animals by poyisas (non-white warders) with sticks and with leather straps . . . We could see these men also being hit with fists and open hands . . .

"The worst assaults I saw anywhere in jail were those on Africans at the hospital . . . Non-European prisoners who had to see the doctors were brought out at about 6.15 in the morning and it could be freezing cold in Pretoria. They stood naked: 60, 70, 80 of them at a time. Huddled up like birds trying to keep warm. Like poultry. Stark naked. They had to stand with frost thick on the ground, barefoot, clutching each other to try to keep warm. Shivering . . .

"I have seen prisoners get a blow, as they were inoculated, from a poyisa or from one of the prisoners who worked in the hospital. Sometimes this happened in the presence of a doctor.

"Several times I saw warders kicking or assaulting prisoners lying on the ground who had been carried into the hospital ward. I assumed this was to test whether they were shamming or not.

"As for bathing facilities, they had in our section a shower room with three or four very nice showers in them but no hot water. They also had two lavatory pans . . . There was also a long trough with about a dozen taps in which we could conveniently have washed ourselves and our underclothing . . . But we weren't allowed to use this bathroom because it was kept clean for inspection."

CINDERELLA PRISON, BOKSBURG

Warder van Schalkwyk:—

("I resigned because of irregularities. Favouritism is shown towards warders. Certain farmers get a choice of prisoners because they give presents of vegetables and whisky to some of the warders.)

"At the hospital, in my presence, Chief Warder van der Merwe instructed the hospital head warder "om hom te brand" ("to burn him")

(Electric shock torture:) "Chief Warder van der Merwe was present while all this was done. I have also seen him hitting prisoners. He uses a short officer's cane covered with leather."

Prosecution concedes might be true

again. Then you would hear the condemned man walking to the gallows cell singing hymns. You would hear the door shut. Later, you would faintly hear the sound of the trapdoors opening. I would feel a tremble run through the part of the building where I was . . ."

Pretoria Local

"I also saw occasional assaults on the patients themselves. I saw one man who was apparently suspected of smuggling dagga (Cannabis) dragged out of the hospital by a warder – Kruger – who we called 'Florence Nightingale'. This warder was a burly man with a deformed face. He dragged out this prisoner . . . and forced him to kneel down on all fours, stripped naked in front of all the other patients . . . while the African prisoner who acted as hospital orderly stood with an enema can of soap and water. The enema was administered.

"The prisoner was stood up; blood was dripping down his legs; he was not allowed to get rid of this soapy water . . . he had to stand with his buttocks clenched together with his hands. He was then forced to jump around from leg to leg, doing a sort of quick march, but still clutching his buttocks . . . The burly warder kicked him as he jumped, on his arms, his back, his hips and his belly. Until finally a pot was brought out by one of the African prisoners.

"The man then sat on the pot and got rid of all this water in the presence of the warder and every one else. And while he was doing it he was being beaten over the head. Where the man had been standing and jumping was a puddle of blood . . .

"On another occasion I saw a prisoner carried into the yard on a blanket . . . He might have been shamming . . . One of the warders took his wooden truncheon and, sitting down, let it fall on the forehead of this man on the ground – I suppose about 20 or 30 times. Bong, bong, bong . . . As it turned out, the man was unconscious."

CINDERELLA PRISON, BOKSBURG

Warder van Schalkwyk:—

(About R 42 was found in one of the cells. Chief Warder van der Merwe tried by questioning to find out to whom it belonged.) "He took . . . a Bantu named Aaron to the prison hospital. Erasmus, who was promoted to Chief Warder, told Aaron to take off all his clothes. Aaron climbed onto a bed with a red rubber top on which a convict sprinkled water. Six convicts held Aaron down . . . Then Aaron had water sprinkled on him.

"Erasmus held two wires with shiny points at the ends. The wires were connected to a machine which was normally used for heat treatment. This machine was plugged into an electric power-point in the wall.

Statements alleged to be untrue

Chief Warder Theron:—

„Chief Warder Louis van der Merwe does not do it himself (apply electric shock torture) but he always instructs the hospital orderly to do it.

“I have also seen — a lot of times — Chief Warder van der Merwe hitting prisoners. He uses the short leather-covered cane that officers carry. I know he has also used another heavier cane which has flexible rubber or leather inside.

“He hits them anywhere: on the head, shoulders, just the first place he can reach . . . He hits them while they are in the yard eating their supper.”

Ex-Prisoner Nyabetse:—

One day I was taken by the Chief Warder to a room with a machine in it . . . He ordered me to strip off my clothes, then told me to lie on the table.

“. . . After a while the Chief Warder threatened that he would repeat the treatment until I told the truth . . . The Chief Warder instructed the Warder to connect the wires again.

“While at „Blue Sky” (Cinderella Prison) I was assaulted by white warders and by poyisas. One time I tried to complain to the superintendant but I was chased away by the Chief Warder who told me to voetsak (‘push off’).

“While eating in the yard we were assaulted. They kicked us, they boxed us, they thrashed us with canes and kieries (knobbed sticks).”



Prosecution concedes might be true

“Erasmus held the one shiny point on Aaron’s shoulders and arms. The other point he just played anywhere on Aaron’s body — on his stomach, his legs, private parts, chest, neck — and when Aaron screamed, also on his tongue and mouth . . .

“I have seen at least 15 or 20 convicts getting this treatment. (Some for alleged smuggling and one to force him to make a statement against Chief Warder Theron.)”

Chief Warder Theron:—

“I have seen shock treatment being given to convicts at the prison to make them give statements . . . several times . . . When the shock ends the convict has to be helped off the table. His legs and body are shaking. He can’t even talk — he stutters.”

Ex-prisoner Nyabetse:—

“. . . The wires came from the machine. He touched my body with two wires, including my private parts. The pain was unbearable. It felt as if my body was being jabbed with hot sharp needles.

“I had this pain all over. My head felt as if it would split into many parts. I screamed aloud and prayed. Thinking I was about to die, I screamed and prayed: “Lord, forgive me for my sins. I now come before you.” I am a Roman Catholic.

“My body was shaking and so were my feet and hands. I felt cold and yet I was sweating . . . I tasted salt on my lips . . . Then the treatment stopped. Wellington again splashed water on my face and body . . . I screamed when they connected the wires . . . ”

Ex-Prisoner Setshedi:—

“. . . I heard Dan (a friend of mine) screaming for about 15 minutes. As he was screaming I heard him shouting: „Baas, ek is nie siek nie, ek is nie siek nie!” (‘Baas, I’m not sick, I’m not sick.’)

“The windows were opened again. As Dan came out I saw he was sweating. I asked what was wrong. He said: “They put me in the massage.” I asked him what this massage was. He said: “It’s an electric shock.”

I heard people screaming several times in that hospital. When they came outside they told me the same story about the machine.”

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

Featuring current news and comment
from apartheid South Africa

MANDELA

Nelson Mandela was refused permission to leave Robben Island to attend the funeral of his mother, Mrs Fanny Mandela, at Qunu Location near Umtata, on 11 October. From one point of view this was just another example of the inhumanity of apartheid and the petty spite of South African officials. Political prisoners have no human rights. And no human needs either. But why was Mrs Winnie Mandela, who went to Umtata, restricted to one motor-route only? And why was she specifically forbidden to communicate with Mandela's cousin, Chief Sabata Dalindyabo, who of course was at the funeral too? Petty spite, yes. But there was more in it than that.

Chief Sabata is no friend of apartheid, and he has denounced the whole Transkei self-government project as a fraud. And the Transkei elections were barely a fortnight away. Instead of the fever of controversy that surrounds a democratic election, a great dead apathy had fallen over the Transkei. The so-called elections prove a miserable farce, and Matanzima and his gang are still in the saddle. In a puppet government, who cares who plays the puppet? The puppeteer remains the same.

But a visit to his family home by Nelson Mandela, imprisoned leader of the African National Congress – that would be another thing. That would be a political event. Even chained to his prison guards, Nelson Mandela would be dynamite in the Transkei. And far away as he was, his proved the strongest presence there. It was his telegram from Robben Island, not the uneasy presence of the Chief Minister of the Transkei (Matanzima), that drew the greatest res-

ponse from the 500 mourners. And, in his funeral oration, Chief Sabata, who like Matanzima is Mrs Mandela's nephew, declared before the massed security police:—

„Rolihlahla – Nelson – is a true national leader of the African people and not a puppet like other so-called leaders. He has been imprisoned for fighting for his people and their motherland. We have come here because of (Mrs) Mandela's son. We wish her son could have been given the chance to come and pay his last respects.”

Chief Sabata's was a brave speech, and a proper tribute for the graveside of our honoured sister, and our comrade's mother.

REGIME RATTLED

The government is really rattled these days. Already, it seems, the South African army is preparing for guerilla warfare on South African soil: The biggest military manoeuvres ever held in South Africa took place in the Northern Transvaal in August. And last month, Permanent Force, Citizen Force and Commando troops busied themselves with anti-guerilla exercises on the edge of the Transkei in the area round the Fish River mouth. The guerillas were impersonated by Citizen Force trainees.

Following years of vain boasting that South Africa's borders are secure, and that any 'terrorist' entering the country would be caught in a matter of minutes, the Vorster regime now admits that the Republic is "most vulnerable to guerilla warfare". Recently the rural areas, particularly Zululand and the Northern Transvaal, have been scenes of lecture tours by apartheid officials: by officials of the

Department of Bantu Affairs, members of the Security Police, and officers from the armed forces. Chiefs are instructed to summon meetings of their people, to come and give audience to the envoys of apartheid. In these meetings, freedom-fighters are labelled 'tools of communism' and painted as criminals who will come to murder the peasants and rob them of their land and cattle. The fascists then offer to be defenders of the peasants, while the peasants are expected to report to the White authorities about any suspicious-looking person.

South Africa's rulers are developing the mentality of a beleaguered community, preyed on by unknown fears. Police and military guards are deployed along the Republic's 5,000 miles of land border; and more and more troops are being sent to Rhodesia and Mozambique to bolster ailing white regimes in a vain attempt to keep the fighting outside the apartheid heartland. The latest move threatens not only the countries on South Africa's borders, but also independent Africa beyond. Plans have been announced to set up a missile base on the east coast, in Zululand. There will be no question, says the Minister of Defence, of a future Zulu Bantustan ever gaining control over the area. The base will serve as a testing area for the rocket research institute set up five years ago to develop ground-to-air missiles. 'Overseas firms' which have co-operated in building similar bases in Western Europe are to assist in the enterprise. Since 1961, a secret agreement is believed to be in existence between South Africa and West Germany, on military and atomic co-operation. And it is widely believed that when Economics Minister Jan Haak visited Bonn in October 1967, he made arrangements to recruit West German specialists for the missile base.

South African Press stories have not mentioned the crucial question of – who is supposed to be threatened by this base? The journalists are too delicate, or too terrorised by the Official Secrets Act, to speculate. But it is clear to us that a base on the Zululand coast will command an area stretching across east and central Africa, threatening both Zambia and Tanzania. Apartheid is preparing to strike at the countries whose support they believe to be essential to the liberation movements. Apartheid is preparing to set all Southern Africa afire, in its panic before our freedom-fighters.

VORSTER'S S.S.

Such policies represent the death-wish of a community already mad, as Hitler's Germany was mad a generation ago.

30 years ago Hitler's SS, the most brutal and most hated institution of recent times, was terrorizing half of Europe, Europe rose up and threw off the oppressor. But we South Africans know that the SS is not dead. It lives on in South Africa, as Vorster's Security Police. Like the Nazis, the Nationalists have set about building a political police as their major instrument of terror. Once, slow-witted gents in grey raincoats haunted the back rows of political meetings. Now the political meetings are banned, and the Special Branch are very different types. They are slick, plausible operators. Some were trained to infiltrate underground movements, to win the trust of our comrades and then betray them. Others were taught the brutal techniques of interrogation — how to cajole and bully a man into total psychological breakdown; how to break his body with torture, beatings, electric shocks, with stifling to the point of unconsciousness. Some of our comrades have died in the horror chambers of Vorster's Security Police.

This body of professional terrorists has now gone into the Public Relations business. They are promoting a spate of police literature, memoirs of full-time spies like Gerard Ludi and small-time traitors like Bruno Mtolo. The idea is to present the secret agent as hero, the messiah of white civilization; and to smear the revolutionary. Here again they have taken as their model their Nazi masters. Hitler wrote in 'Mein Kampf' that "the leader of genius must have the ability to make different opponents appear as if they belong to one category." So, the Nationalist technique is to smear all their opponents as "communist agents of a foreign power", no matter that of these South Africans whose quarrel is with apartheid, some are nationalists, some are socialists, some communists and some liberals.

There are today very few areas of South African life which are free of the activities of the political police. Lately, there has been a lot of press publicity about students at the universities who have been asked to spy on one another. But when Professor McCrone, Principal of the University of the Witwatersrand, protested

when approaches were made to five of his students, he was exposing something that had been part of life in the tribal colleges from the beginning. (Witwatersrand University is all-white — Editor). Mexican students make the joke that their army is the best educated in America, it spends so much time in the Universities. The South African Special Branch, too, must be a pretty learned lot by now.

We expect this dirty business to grow as our struggle grows. General Gous, new commissioner of Vorster's Gestapo, is already boasting of a master plan to use a network of police informers. They are ready to go into immediate operation, it seems, in the event of guerilla activity on South African soil. Brothers, they hope, will be set to spy upon brothers, and sons to betray fathers. All the petty powers of bullying and blackmail that apartheid has given to its police will be used. ("Work for us and your permit to stay in town will be renewed; refuse, and your family will be deported.")

We shall seek out the informers, and deal with them as traitors. Our strength is our will to win freedom, which nothing can change. Vorster and his police know this, and they are afraid. They rule by terror, and torture, and spies, because without these weapons they would fall. The people will rise and destroy them. Terror is the weapon of the weak. It is we who are strong.

BUFFER TACTIC

South Africa's strategy is to keep the war for as long as possible off South African soil. Mozambique and Angola and Rhodesia are apartheid's buffer states against free Africa. So it has long been apartheid's policy to support these countries' present regimes and to develop the Unholy Alliance.

Today, however, those buffers are crumbling. The liberatory forces of Frelimo effectively control large areas of northern Mozambique, and are threatening the key Cabora-Bassa dam project in Tete Province, which South Africa is helping to build. In Angola MPLA guerillas are operating in the north, in the central region round Luanda, and in the large western provinces. All the strength of the Portuguese army has failed to turn them back. And in Zimbabwe, Rhodesian forces have demonstrated that, alone,

they are no match at all for the ZAPU and ANC guerillas.

On all sides, South Africa's buffers are under pressures that they cannot resist for long. So apartheid is forced to go to their rescue. Exchange of military intelligences has led to joint military planning; joint planning has led to direct military aid. Secretly, South African troops have been operating in Mozambique over the past year. Only two months ago, no less than 100 South African nurses and 25 doctors were reported recruited as so-called volunteers to tend Portuguese army casualties in Mozambique. South African helicopters from Caprivi have been helping the Portuguese to search out guerillas in the Angolan bush. And more and more South African police and troops have been poured into Rhodesia.

It seems that now the South African military authorities are beginning to worry that all these outside commitments are stretching their considerable resources too far. They say they have to patrol 5,000 miles of land border against infiltration by trained freedom-fighters. And, since their real fear is of internal rebellion, they must police the country internally as well.

So it has become very important for apartheid to reduce the commitments outside, as the internal threat expands. Hence the sudden anxiety to press Smith into agreement with Britain, with the idea that British troops will then take over South Africa's role as so-called peacekeeper. To South Africa, and to Smith, any agreement with Britain must thus involve a promise of British assistance in containing the guerillas. This is what President Kaunda understood so well when he said, two months ago, that he would be very surprised if within weeks of a so-called settlement, British troops were not fighting African guerillas in Rhodesia.

That is apartheid's ghastly and devious plan: to involve her imperialist allies in a situation that can only escalate, like the war in Vietnam. But we can only remind both apartheid and British imperialism, that the Southern Africa war, like the war in Vietnam, is a war you cannot win. It is a peoples war. The American imperialists made their mistake ten years ago; and today, with all the might of the western world's most powerful nation, they find they have produced only crisis at home, revulsion abroad — and the final realization that they cannot, and will never, win.

CHALLENGE TO THE

CHURCHES

by Canon L. John Collins, President,
International Defence and Aid Fund

In September 1968, "A Message to the People of South Africa" was published in the leading South African newspapers in advertisement space taken by the South African Council of Churches. This message was the work of 30 leading Theologians of 10 Christian denominations, and it had been signed by a number of Church leaders, including the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Durban, and the Anglican Archbishop of Cape Town. The Johannesburg Sunday Times described the message as "Probably the strongest challenge to apartheid ever issued by the Churches in South Africa."

It is certainly a splendid document – phrase after phrase leaps up out of the print positively ringing with challenge. Separate development „forms a programme which is truly hostile to Christianity and serves only to keep people away from the true knowledge of Christ, "it is" a demonstration of unbelief and distrust in the power of the Gospel", it is "based on the domination of one group over all others; it depends on the maintenance of white supremacy; thus it is rooted in and dependent on a policy of sin," "it involves a rejection of the central beliefs of the Christian Gospel. It calls good evil." There could hardly be stronger words of condemnation.

But the message does not just condemn: there is also a call to the churches to "enable all our people to distinguish between the false, novel gospel and the true eternal gospel of Jesus Christ". "If the Church fails", it says "to witness for the true Gospel of Jesus Christ it will find itself witnessing for a false Gospel"; ". . . Christ is inevitably a threat to much that is called the South African way o life". The Council of Churches invites individual Christians and groups to sign and support the "Message" and it promises a further document in which it will "work out the practical implications of this statement of faith for both Church and Society".



Vorster Threatens

Mr. Vorster, predictably, greeted the Message with abuse and threats. „Your pious talks do not impress me and only remind me of the Pharisees of olden times." "People must not use the pulpit in an attempt to achieve political aims in South Africa." "The cloth you are wearing will not protect you . . ."

We must all feel thankful and heartened that – even at this late hour – the Churches, or at least the majority of the more important denominations, have committed themselves to this fine and uncompromising statement.

It has a special importance inside South Africa where, since the banning of the Defence and Aid Committees, and the disbanding of the Liberal Party, the Churches provide almost the only area life in which, in however limited a manner the races still meet with some degree of equality and mutual respect.

Direct Challenge

But this is 1968. Ever since 1948, when it first came to power, the Nationalist Government has been enforcing apartheid with increasing severity, inhumanity and brutality. How is it that the Christian Churches have been so long in recognising the true nature of this vicious ideology that now has the country in a straight-jacket? Has their recognition come too late?

I have been looking back at the diary I kept when I visited South Africa in 1954. Then I wrote, "How can the Church be so blind, so apparently unmoved by the evil of segrega-

STOP PRESS

THE THREAT OVER ZIMBABWE - A NEW VIETNAM?

Exclusive Statement to Sechaba by
JASON MOYO, National Treasurer, ZAPU

The present period is one that may transform the situation in Zimbabwe, and in Southern Africa. It could start an escalation which would make of Southern Africa a new Vietnam.

Make no mistake about it, the series of "negotiations" between the British Government and the Smith regime is aimed at a sell-out of the African people and if the process is not complete by the time this number of Sechaba is published, there is a very great danger that a settlement will be announced after the proposed Commonwealth Conference in January. If we are not to face a new Vietnam in Southern Africa, we must halt the escalation now.

President Kaunda's Warning

On October 20th 1968 President Kaunda warned that a sellout was on the way and said that he would be "very surprised if within months British troops were not facing African guerrillas in Rhodesia".

It is now widely believed that Smith and Wilson have arrived at a secret agreement based primarily on the Fearless proposals. Their problem now is to sell the agreement to their own supporters in Britain and Rhodesia respectively. Hence the shadow-boxing, the protracted negotiations, the so-called deadlock. Smith refuses to accept any external guarantees - Wilson hoodwinks the world into believing that he is standing firm. It is feared that the agreement that will break the deadlock will include the presence of British troops in Rhodesia - ostensibly to guarantee "unimpeded progress to majority rule", in fact to hold back the forces of liberation, which in the new context of legality would be represented as the threat to law and order.

Here would indeed be the elements of a new Vietnam: a major imperialist power committed militarily to a minority government against a guerrilla army of the people.

Stop the Sell-Out

The intrigues of Wilson and Smith must be seen for what they really are: a complete sell-out of the aspirations of the African majority in Zimbabwe and a return to the status quo with the added danger of the presence of British troops in Zimbabwe.

The presence of such troops will not and can not stop the armed struggle of the people of Zimbabwe, led by ZAPU. But, the sell-out can and must be stopped; by the combined strength and solidarity of the British people and the democracy-loving people of the world.

The horrors of Vietnam are enough!

tion? Why are Father Huddleston and a handful of others left to carry the burden of trying to apply the Gospel of love to a corrupt society?" And I commented, "Christians ought not to evade the direct challenge to political activity involved in opposition to apartheid. If they do, they will be driven to face it, in the end, and by then it may be too late."

Condemned by Bishops

When on my return to England, I wrote and spoke publicly about the evils of apartheid, I was severely reprimanded and condemned by Bishops and Archbishop as well as by other clergy and lay people in South Africa and in England. And until even quite recently those Christians - and thank God there have been some - who have opposed apartheid too vigorously and too loudly have tended to be regarded as tiresome trouble-makers. Why, when Ambrose Reeves was deported, did not the whole bench of Anglican bishops resign? Why did they not do the same when Bishop Crowther was forced out of the country?

But all that is in the past, and what matters now is the future.

In the moment of crisis, Peter denied his Master and his faith, but he returned to fight the good fight and he fought it to the bitter end at the cost of imprisonment, torture and death by crucifixion. Can the South African Churches follow Peter? Can they face the cost that is now involved in any practical and effective opposition to apartheid? For, make no mistake about it, the cost will be as high as that which Peter was called upon to pay, as some few white and many non-white citizens of South Africa already know only too well. Mr. Vorster made no idle threat when he said that the clerical cloth would protect nobody.

But the test of the sincerity of any man's convictions is the degree to which he is prepared to act upon them. Many non-whites have already shown that they are prepared to sacrifice everything, including life itself, and many more Europeans will have to do the same if they are to earn for themselves a place in the South Africa of the future. Let the Christian Churches now take the lead.

Ensure Maximum Support

Of course, it is easy, from a safe distance, to encourage people to take dangerous and courageous actions. But I cannot see any possible alternative for the Christian Churches in South Africa. Apart from the few brave individuals, they have left it so late that the only effective form their opposition to apartheid can now take will almost literally, involve embracing the Cross. The Christian Churches of the entire outside world must ensure the maximum moral and material support for all who are prepared to follow this course.

The "Message to the People of South Afrika" is a noble document. Together with the Freedom Charter it could become, for posterity, one of the great liberating manifestoes of all times, if the men who wrote it are now prepared to act upon it. And if sufficient numbers of their fellow-Christians will follow them wholeheartedly, then it may still not be too late for men and women of goodwill to build a truly non-racial South Africa.

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

NUSAS Leader Refused Passport

National Union of South African Students president, Duncan Innes, said "there was no alternative" but to forfeit his Abe Bailey Scholarship because he had been refused a passport. The 23-year-old student leader also appealed to Interior Minister, Mr. Lourens Muller, to produce "in public or in private" evidence which warranted retribution of this kind. Mr. Innes is the fifth NUSAS president to become involved with the South African Government, which has not once given any reason for taking action against the students. The first was Jonty Driver, the president in 1963 and 1964, who was arrested under the 90-day detention Act at the end of his term of office. Ian Robertson was banned under the Suppression of Communism Act. John Sprack, a Rhodesian citizen but South African-born, was deported two months after taking office in 1967. John Daniel was refused a passport twice and left the country on a British passport.

Hands In Money - Then Beaten

Mr. Jacobus Engelbrecht, the 33-year-old Johannesburg truck driver who spent four days in hospital after he was questioned by police officers who suspected that he was involved in a kidnapping, intends to sue the Minister of Justice for R20,000 (over £ 11,000 damages and to lay a charge of assault against the police.

Mr. Engelbrecht was returning from Alberton when he stopped to pick up a parcel which had been thrown from a car in front of him.

"I opened it and saw that it was a bundle of R10 notes so I decided to take it to Johannesburg police headquarters on my way home," he said.

Mr Engelbrecht alleges he was dragged from his car and asked: "What did you do with the kid?" Then two policemen pounded him. He spent two hours at the Brixton headquarters of the Murder and Robbery Squad before being taken to the J.G. Strijdom Hospital where he received 14 stitches in his face and head, and treatment for cuts and bruises.

The Commissioner for Police, General J.P. Gous, commented: "I am perfectly satisfied with the conduct of my men throughout the incident."

"I think they acted with speed and efficiency and see nothing wrong with their conduct."

School Conditions Shock Visitor

Miss Barbara Klont, a 24-year-old U.S. primary school teacher who has been visiting South Africa for a month, said on leaving that she was shocked by conditions in African schools. "As a teacher I have had the opportunity to visit several African schools, and I was shocked and horrified by what I saw. I have seen 80 children crammed into a small classroom, three pupils to a desk. The principal of one school told me he had turned away 900 children this term because there was no space for them."

Miss Klont said that it had been a "terribly upsetting experience" to see the way that some Whites treated Africans. She said that she had planned to stay longer in South Africa, but "could not tolerate" the racial attitudes.

White Waiters For White Women

The Minister of Justice, Mr P.C. Pelser, has told a 4-man deputation which was to see him, that a meeting would be "a waste of time for both parties".



The deputation was to see the Minister to appeal against the National Liquor Licensing Board's ruling that non-white barmen may not serve in ladies' bars. The Minister told the deputation through his secretary that he had made up his mind and he would not relax the ruling.

Policeman Says Immorality Act "Vicious"

Lieut.-Col Bob Adriaan Freemantle, the retired police officer who was recently acquitted on five charges under the Immorality Act, described "this vicious law" as the worst in the world. In the Boksburg Regional Court, the magistrate, Mr. K.G.C. Steenkamp, discharged 47-year-old Lieut.-Col Freemantle after describing the charges against him as "false". Mr. Steenkamp said it shocked him to hear the falseness of the two witnesses, and he questioned the motives as to why the case was brought to court at all.

Lieut.-Col Freemantle said that the law is wide open to abuses and it should be revised. He said that until he came to court he could not get details of the evidence against him.

Elected Man Can't Be Quoted

The election of banned Transkei Government candidate, Mr. C.M.C. Ndamse, to the Transkeian Legislative Assembly has created an embarrassing situation for the disciples of separate development. According to South African law, Mr Ndamse may still not be quoted in any South African newspaper. Only one person in South Africa, Minister of Justice Mr P. C. Pelser, may authorise the publication of statements from a man who has been banned. Therefore, if Mr Ndamse gets a Cabinet post, the Transkeian "Government" will have no alternative but to approach Mr Pelser for permission to allow Mr Ndamse's public statements to be quoted.

Weenen's "Emergency" Camp

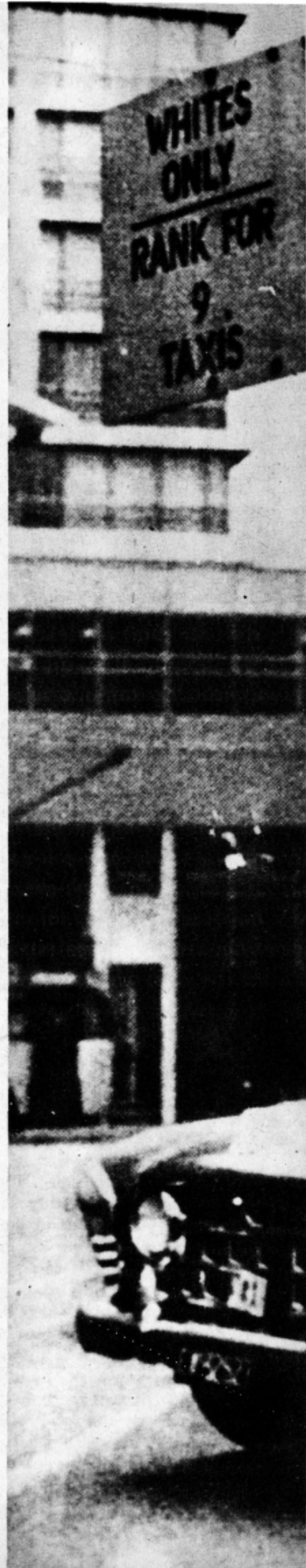
The building and equipping of a beerhall for the 1,000 Africans living in Weenen's year-old "emergency" camp has taken precedence over the supply

of water, sewerage and other basic amenities. For the past year the only source of water for the camp has been a furrow a mile away, and the Bushman River. A number of pits had been dug as toilets. Medical authorities have condemned the camp as a breeding ground for disease because of the closeness of huts, the lack of proper sanitation and the fact that the water in the open furrow is not clean. Dr. M. H. Broughton, Medical Officer of Health for the town, said that his reports had no effect on the town council. The "emergency" camp was set up after a Group Areas proclamation excluded Africans from the town. Africans not employed in Weenen when the camp was started were taken to Mkandla in Zululand. Many had been squatting on white farms, living in on the vast Weenen commonage or on their own land. A thousand people remained. Many more would have been moved had farmers in the area not feared the loss of their labour reserves. The beerhall was a source of revenue to the municipality which would not go out of its way to spend anything on the African community unless forced to. Huts in the camps are made of poles and mud and are mostly thatched, poles and thatch being provided by the council. Plots for each hut are between 10 and 16 yards square. The residents pay R2 a month and 50 cents for each person over 16. Wages in the area range from R6 to R18 a month for men and R2 to R8 for women.

Whites Can't See Coloured Star

The Coloured singer, Danny Williams, has been refused permission to perform before white audiences in South Africa. After great success in Britain and the U.S., Mr Williams had been prevented from appearing in his home town, Port Elizabeth, as well as in Durban and Pretoria. Permission to perform at a hall in Port Elizabeth was refused on the grounds that it was in an industrial area; the hall in Pretoria was said to serve an Indian community and no hall was available for an appearance by him in Durban. These refusals, including the refusal earlier in the year to allow the Eoan Group to appear at the Johannesburg Civic Centre, were causing much concern to theatrical people.

Photos:— Apartheid signs for South African transport facilities.



St Helena

BRITAIN PLANS ANOTHER SELLOUT

A new sell-out to the racials is currently taking place in the British colony of St. Helena – situated 1,500 miles off the West coast of Angola. The Foreign and Commonwealth Office was happily preparing to allow the wholly South African-owned South Atlantic Trading and Investment Co. (SATIC) to buy a 62% share in Solomon and Co., the trading company which virtually controls the island. However, St. Helena's mainly Coloured population took unexpected action. 800 demonstrators (out of a total population of 4,700) paraded with anti-apartheid placards. More than 1,000 signed a petition to the Queen, asking that the sale should be prevented on the grounds that it threatened the islanders' 'political and social freedom'. SATIC has a strong backing from the South African Government – demonstrated by the fact that its chairman, G.A.D. Thornton – an active member of the South African Foundation and a Cape Town property owner – has been given permission to take out a British passport in addition to his South African one and to register his company in Britain, so giving it a 'British' appearance.

TRADE UNION OPPOSITION

SATIC's representatives on the island recently circulated a leaflet, attacking the leadership of the St. Helena General Workers' Union. A further demonstration then took place and the islanders refused to handle a cargo for a fishing company in which Mr. Thornton already has an interest. SATIC's representatives, under police protection, were quickly bundled aboard a cargo boat (heading for Northern Ireland) as the authorities feared they would otherwise be subjected to violence. The Secretary of

the GWU stated that if SATIC takes over, there will be strikes, boycotts and demonstrations. He added: „The labour from Solomon's office will walk out and I expect it will eventually lead to violence.”

Mr. Thornton informed a Johannesburg Sunday Times reporter that Lord Shepherd, one of the Ministers of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office has now outlined proposals to 'alleviate the situation on the island.' He said 'these proposals remain confidential for the time being.'

SOUTH AFRICAN BASE

This South African take-over must be seen against the background of the S. A. Government's new 'outward-looking' policy by which it is attempting to gain financial influence over neighbouring territories (a process aided by the British government's past failures to develop their colonies as anything but sources of cheap raw materials). In addition, it must be related to the frenzied military build-up currently taking place in the Republic – which includes the construction of a R100 million State-owned armaments industry and the positioning of missile sites on the Zululand coast.

St. Helena is in a situation of great strategic significance on the Atlantic sea-route. (On neighbouring Ascension Island, there are already an Apollo tracking station a US air base, a BBC relay station and a new terminal of the Cape Town to Lisbon undersea cable.)

We support the islanders of St. Helena in their struggle to prevent South Africa gaining control of their territory . . . preparatory to making use of it in the giant war developing against Freedom Fighters all over Southern Africa.

ANC RADIO PROGRAMME

BEAMED TO SOUTHERN AFRICA
OVER TANZANIA
EXTERNAL SERVICES

Sundays and Mondays in English
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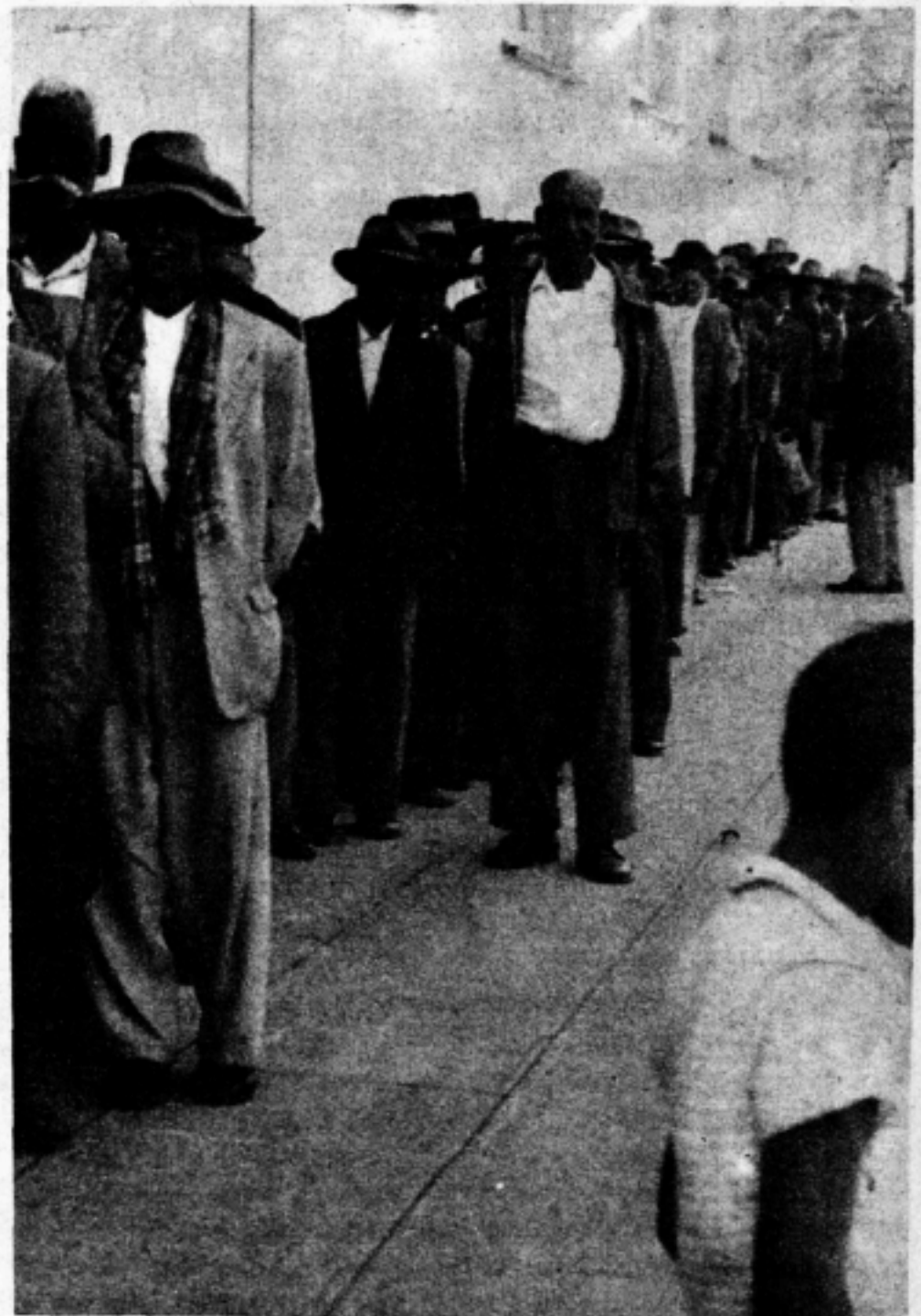
ENGLAND
African National Congress
49 Rathbone Street, London W.1.

THE FACTS IN BLACK & WHITE

This is the first of a series showing the vast gap between the wages and other ex-gratia payments made to Whites, and those of Non-Whites in South Africa



Queue of Indian Old Age Pensioners in Durban, waiting to be paid. Whites get paid at any Post Office. Non-whites go to a Central Office.



1. INEQUALITIES IN THE SOCIAL SERVICES

In our issue of October, 1968 (Vol. 2, No. 10.) we drew attention to the large gap between the wages of white workers and professional men, and those of Africans, Coloureds and Asians.

The gap in the amount of pension paid to whites on the one hand, and to Africans, Coloureds and Asians on the other, is equally great and equally unjust.

Old Age Pensions

Pensions, in South Africa, are paid to the old, the blind the physically unfit and the disabled in battle. A civilised State should treat these persons with compassion and compensate them generously for their handicaps. But any generosity or compassion on the part of the all-white parliament – which votes the money for pensions – is reserved for whites only. This article will show that less and less consideration is being given to the needs of African, Coloured and Asian pensioners, until the day may come when the white parliament divests itself altogether of any responsibility towards them – for they are voteless, and they have no labour power to sell.

In 1928, the Government provided for pensions for old white and Coloured persons over 65 years of age. In keeping with its so-called 'civilised Labour policy', for whites, the Government ensured that whites, even if old, should be able to maintain a decent standard of living, above that of those of other races. But Coloured persons were included, their pension being 60% of that of the whites'. The important factor here is not the amount of the pension, but the standard of living. No pension was paid to whites when their pension plus private means exceeded £ 54 per annum: the relative figure for Coloureds was £ 36. In other words it was recognised that a Coloured person's standard of living should be 2/3 of that of a white person. Today, a white person (men over 65, women over 60) can draw a pension so long as pension plus private income does not exceed R564 per annum: the equivalent figure for Coloured old age pensioners is R168. So that the Coloured person's total income from pension and any other source is now only 30% of that of the white person's.')

Some people oppose an economic boycott of South Africa as a means to induce her to change her 'apartheid' policies. They argue that the more wealth there is in the country, the more the Africans, Coloured and Asians can

share in it. The example of the pensions does not bear this out. It shows that the more wealth and prosperity there is, the more the whites will grab for themselves, giving less to those who have helped to create it.

43 cents per month

Old age pensions and those for the blind were extended to Africans and Asians in 1944 – towards the end of the war in which they had also served. One of the first actions taken by the first so-called Independent Bantustan in South Africa, the Transkei, on obtaining self-government, was to grant an increase in these pensions to its old and blind citizens. The Transkei legislative assembly voted R272,000 to give each an additional allowance of R5.10 per annum.²⁾ Commenting on this "generous" gesture, Mr. Rajuli of the Opposition said that it would mean 43c per month, and asked how many loaves of bread this would buy. The maximum pension is R44.40 per annum, but no pension is paid if any old or blind African has private means above R48 per annum.

The Transkeian Minister of the Interior explained how the private income, or 'means' was calculated. The value of one cow is R2.50, a bag of potatoes 50c, a bag of corn 50c, pumpkins 22.2c each, eggs per fowl, 10c per annum. In actual fact, the maximum pension of R44.40c is rarely paid: the average is only R31.8c.

In calculating the 'means' and private income of a white person, assets, fixed or movable, to an amount of R3,600 is left out of account.³⁾ So that an old African may forfeit his pension if he has a couple of fowls too many – but a white person can have a house, and car, to the value of R3,600 and still be eligible to draw one.

Blind Pensions

Over 12,000 Africans draw blind pensions. The maximum is R44.40c per annum, but the average drawn is only R32.2c. 1,640 Coloured and 152 Asians draw blind pensions. The maximum is R168 p.a. The relative figures for whites are 906, and R360 plus R36 bonus p.a.⁴⁾

Possibly some whites have sufficient private means and do not claim blind pensions. But even accounting for this, it is significant that there are only 906 blind pensioners, that is less than 3 per 10,000 population, as against 12,000 blind Africans, that is 12 per 10,000. One might ask whether a massive campaign, such as WHO organises in other countries, to eliminate blindness among Africans would not be more economic and more humane than doling out 50/- every two months to each blind African pensioner.

War Veterans' Pensions

These are paid to men who took part in the 1899–1902 war; the 1914–1918, and the 1939–1945 wars, and the Korean campaign, provided they are 60 years of age, or, if under 60, are disabled. The rates are slightly higher than for old age and blind pensions. But Africans are not included. Africans served as stretcher-bearers, motor transport drivers, cooks, orderlies, ammunition carriers in the artillery. They were decorated for valour; they were wounded; some are still disabled. But, 'explained'⁵⁾ the Minister of Social Welfare, they did not actually do service in fighting units at the battlefield. If Africans did not actually shoot, it was because the South African government refused to

provide them with guns. As a reward, they are denied the right to a pension. Some of them – in the Transkei there are 45 – get an ex gratia payment of approximately R31 per annum.

Official Attitude

In August, 1966,⁶⁾ the Minister of Social Welfare gave the maximum pension rates in 1948 and 1966 as follows:

	1948	1966
Whites	R120	R360 per annum
Coloured & Asian	R 60	R168 per annum
Africans	R 24	R 44.40c per annum

Leaving aside bonuses, special allowances, means tests, etc., these figures mean that in 1948 Coloured and Asian pensions were 50% of the whites, in 1966 only 46%. The African's pension was 20% of the white in 1948, in 1966 only 12%.

One year later, the Minister of Finance in his budget speech announced increased bonuses for whites, and added: "Concessions similar to those which I have mentioned are envisaged in respect of the non-white races, in the customary relationship."⁷⁾ The significant words are in the customary relationship."

The Nationalist Party has taken it upon itself to interpret the customs and traditions of South Africa. In 1928 it was 'customary' for a Coloured person to receive 2/3 the white's pension, today less than half; Africans formerly got 20% of the white rate, now only 12%, and the decreases are justified as 'customary'.

It was 'customary' for all pensions to be administered by the Department of Social Welfare, as indeed they should be, for age and blindness have nothing to do with skin colour – but since the Nationalists took over it is now 'customary' for the Departments of Coloured Affairs, Indian Affairs and 'Bantu' Affairs to administer the pensions for Coloureds, Asians and Africans respectively, leaving the Department of Social Welfare to spend all its time and money on whites.

The next stage was envisaged by the late Dr. H. Verwoerd when he was Minister of 'Bantu' Affairs. He said: "I hope the time will soon come when we will return to the self-supporting Native community . . . if there is a move to go back to the old tribal system of self-supporting Native communities I will favour it. I am against old-age pensions for Natives. I believe that Natives should look after the financial welfare of their own people."⁸⁾

References:

1. SAIRR Survey, 1967, p 311; An.Rep.Col.Aff.Dept. R.P. 25'66.
2. Transkei legislative assembly debates, 1965, 1967.
3. House of Assembly Debates, 22.3.67, c. 3382.
4. Hansard, 16.2.68, c. 653: an.Rep. Dept. of Bantu Admin. & Develop. 1964, R. P. 14, '66.
5. South African Press Association. 9.11.67.
6. House of Assembly Debates 5.6.66 c. 253
7. House of Assembly Debates 22.3.67 c. 3382
8. Cape Argus, 12.9.57.

Note:– R2 = 2.8 dollars = 1.2 pounds approximately

MEREMENTSI LEKOTO



Trade Union and ANC leader, MEREMENTSI LEKOTO died while under house arrest in June last year.

Forty years old, Meremetsi began work in the mines at a very early age. In the early forties he was the key Mine Workers Union organiser at the City Deep mine where he was then employed. After the great miners' strike of 1946 (See Sechaba Vol.2, No.10) he was among the first to be victimised.

Encouraged by the leaders of his Union he studied during the evenings and obtained a job as a labourer in the Food and Canning Industry. Here he soon showed his remarkable power of leadership. The workers elected him their shop steward. He led the workers in his factory in response to a call by the African National Congress and its allies, in the first major political strikes of May and June, 1950. In 1956 after organising demonstrations against the arrest of 156 national leaders of the Congress Movement on a charge of High Treason, he once more lost his job.

Meremetsi then took on the difficult job of organising unorganised African workers in Johannesburg. In 1958 he was appointed Secretary of the African Shop and Office workers and an organiser of the South African Congress of Trade Unions, a member of the Congress Alliance.

During the spate of arrests and detentions in the early sixties, Meremetsi was banned and placed under house arrest.

Late in 1967 he became seriously ill. During the next six months Meremetsi was in and out of hospital. Every time he was forced to go to hospital he had to first obtain permission from the Chief Magistrate of Johannesburg to do so in terms of his banning order. On many occasions permission to go to hospital was delayed and he lay stricken with pain at home.

On June 7 Meremetsi phoned the Chief Magistrate urging him to expedite his earlier application to go to the hospital.

On the following day permission to go to hospital had still not arrived.

He died!

Despite police terror and despite the banning of the ANC and the wearing of ANC uniforms, the people turned up at the funeral wearing ANC uniforms and carrying the Black, Green and Gold flag of the ANC.

Fare thee well comrade. We shall erect a tombstone in your honour in our New South Africa! Amandla! Ngawethu! (Power to the People!).

L.N. Soweto Township, Johannesburg.

Picture of funeral with women in black, green and gold ANC uniforms with banned ANC flag.



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MORE ATTACKS ON SOUTH AFRICAN INDIANS

The notorious Bantustan scheme was launched some five years ago by the fascist minority regime, ostensibly to compartmentalise the various sections of the South African community into separate territorial units with a view to eventual self-government. The real reason was, of course, to further intensify exploitation and oppression of the black majority. Part of the scheme was a separate area in Natal for Indians, an Indostan as it were.

Today, the racists no more think it necessary or desirable to pursue this objective of a separate Indostan. The reasons are not far to seek. The gaoing, banning or exile of vocal and progressive Indian Congress leaders combined with a series of crippling anti-Indian legislation has placed the half-million Indian people in a completely voiceless and defenceless position. In this situation the racist regime, assisted by a few hand-picked stooges, feels that the Indians are sufficiently

regimented without the need for herding them into an Indostan. Thus when the pro-government South African Bureau of Racial Affairs recently proposed the establishment of an Indostan on the coast of Natal the suggestion was rejected by Natal Nationalists who:-

"... feel that the present development of the Indian people in local areas under their own control is progressing satisfactorily." (Sunday Tribune, 20/10/68.)

Group Areas

Among the anti-Indian legislation, the most vicious is the notorious Group Areas Act and its various amendments. Its express intention is to drive the Indian people out of towns and settle them in the bare veld as many as twenty or thirty miles away from the centre of town and thus to deprive the small percentage of Indians who

have succeeded in establishing commercial enterprises, from their livelihood. But to the annoyance of the Government the people continued to patronise Indian shops even miles from towns; many of the less well-off whites also continued to patronise these shops. Thus while some traders lost their businesses, many continued to thrive.

Look for Other Jobs - or Else

It is in this context that we must see the latest attack on the Indian people by Blaar Coetzee, Minister for Community Development. He is reported to have said:-

"Indians must not rely to such an extent on commerce. They must diversify. They must look to other jobs for their livelihood. It may take 5 years or it may take 50 years, but diversification must take place."

Blaar Coetzee went on to threaten that if Indians did not voluntarily move into other fields the government would compel them to do so by withdrawing trade licences. Coetzee's remarks are nonsensical rubbish except that they spell further tragedy for the Indian people. He should know that only 28.7% of Indians are engaged in commerce and this includes those employed by Indian AND white traders. He should also know that given the opportunity to enter other occupations even this figure of 28.7% would fall rapidly.

But opportunity is denied. The Colour Bar Act, the Job Reservation Act, discriminatory labour and trade union laws, the restrictions on free movement within the country make it impossible not only for Indians but all non-Whites to enter a whole host of skilled categories and professions. The policy of the fascist regime is that all Blacks must be unskilled labourers to be exploited by the Whites and oppressive legislation is designed in pursuance of this policy. The call to Indians to give up commerce and "diversify" is in reality a call to them to throw themselves on the labour market as manual workers.

Blaar Coetzee exposed his cynical disregard for the interests of the Indian people when in reply to a questioner who asked him if he would not urge White workers to change their attitude towards Indian workers, he said he could not expect the white worker not to look after his own interests. We need not remind the reader that White trade unions have been in the forefront of anti-Black legislation and have maintained a strict closed-shop principle debarring non-Whites from obtaining skilled work.

Barrel of a Gun

Blaar Coetzee is a Minister in the fascist Cabinet of South Africa. His latest attack on the Indian people is but a reflection of the racist regime's utter callousness and total disregard for the Black majority. In dealing with people who have reached such a depth of degradation and inhumanity, appeals to reason, appeals for justice, have no chance of succeeding. The only language they will ever understand comes out from the barrel of a gun fired in the name of revolution. That language has already been tellingly used by the Liberation Army of the ANC in Zimbabwe and it is in that language that the people of South Africa will eventually overthrow centuries of oppression.

SECHABA

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SECHABA which means THE NATION is the official organ of the vanguard national liberation organisation in South Africa – the AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS and is published monthly.

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