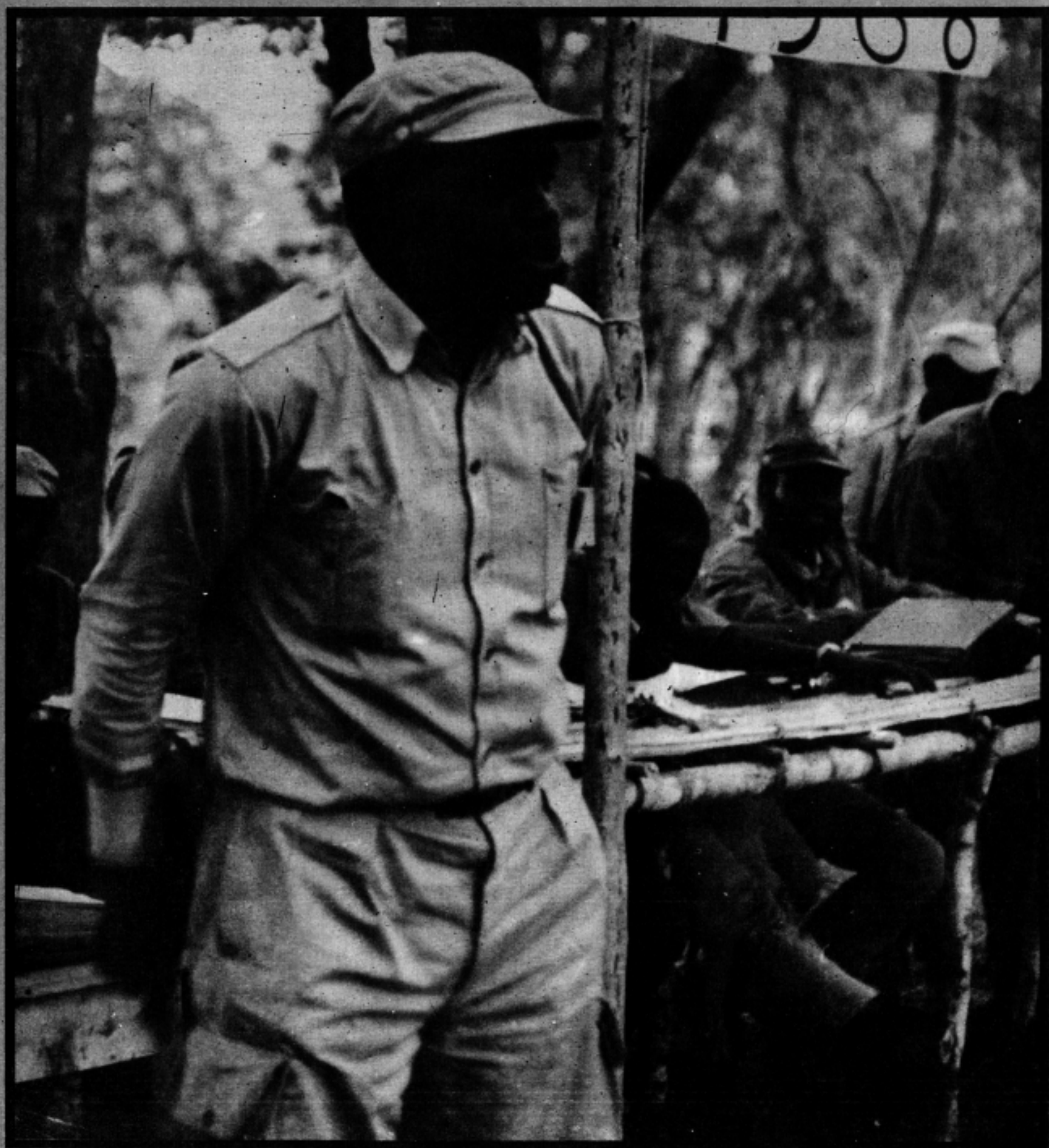


SECHABBA

official organ
african national congress
of south africa



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by: Basil Davidson

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COMMENTARY

Down with Zionism

Elsewhere in this issue of Sechaba, we publish in full a resolution adopted at the Second International Conference in Support of the Arab Peoples, held in Cairo from 25-28 January.

The Conference was attended by representatives of 74 countries and 15 international organisations including representatives of the African National Congress of South Africa and all other genuine Liberation Movements of Southern Africa and the Portuguese Colonies.

The struggle of the Arab peoples against various forms of oppression, racial discrimination and imperialist exploitation is long. It is a struggle in which some of the Arab peoples have won their national independence and human dignity.

But for more than twenty years now, there are millions of Palestinian peoples who have been forced to live in the desert, Arab people whose homeland - Palestine - has been usurped by international imperialism and made the homeland of international Zionism. This land-robbery is being justified on dubious historical and religious grounds. But we know that Israel has become a base in the heart of the Arab world for neo-colonialist subjugation of the Arab peoples.

U.S. imperialism and its west European allies have used their influence to gain Israel and West Germany full diplomatic recognition in the world, especially in Africa - while staunch and valiant supporters of the national liberation movement, such as the Democratic Republic of Vietnam, the Peoples' Democratic Republic of Korea and the German Democratic Republic are either totally denied recognition or are extended diplomatic facilities on a discriminatory basis.

The struggle of the people of Palestine is part and parcel of the struggles of the oppressed peoples everywhere. It is part of the truly heroic fight of the people of Vietnam. It is part of the struggles of the peoples of Southern Africa and the Portuguese colonies, now locked against the forces of racism and reaction in a war of national liberation.

Israel is an aggressive imperialist instrument whose reckless attacks on the Arab peoples is an outrage to the conscience of humanity. Even before the dust of battle from Zionist aggression against Arab people in June 1967 could settle, even before the United Nations Security Council Resolution of November 22, 1967 on the Middle East could be put into effect, we have witnessed callous and ferocious Israeli bombings on the United Arab Republic and Jordan and the recent dastardly air-raid on Beirut. These acts of fascist terror cannot be tolerated any longer. Progressive peace loving peoples everywhere must demand the immediate implementation of the United Nations resolution on the Middle East crisis.

We of the African National Congress of South Africa have much in common with the people of Palestine. We feel the wounds, the misery and the human degradation they continue to suffer at the hands of Israel and its international imperialist allies. We condemn the growing links that Israel maintains with the Nazi South African regime. Indeed it is still fresh in our minds that our white oppressors in South Africa hastily rallied in support of Israel in the June 1967 war against the Arab peoples. This, despite Vorster's anti-Semitic background as leader of the pro-Nazi Nationalist Party.

The oppressed and democratic peoples of South Africa have always identified themselves with the fraternal Arab peoples. The struggling Arab people are our brothers. Just as our oppressors, the White Supremacists, align themselves with the Israeli chauvinists, we unreservedly align ourselves with the struggle of the Arab peoples.

We know full well that the apartheid regime threatens independent African states, just as the Zionist aggressors threaten Arab independence and sovereignty. The Nazi Vorster regime waived its currency regulations to allow millions of pounds to be sent by South African Zionist organizations to Israel; the Vorster regime has allowed Zionist fanatics to go to Israel on military service. Whatever their apparent differences, the white racists of South Africa and the Zionist expansionists are united in their disregard of the national rights and dignity of the masses among whom they live. They are united in that they form an integral part of the global strategy of international imperialism.

We demand the immediate implementation of the November 1967 U.N. Security Council Resolution on the Middle East. We pledge to continue our solidarity with the Arab people for the restoration of the full rights of the Palestinian people. There are bonds of fraternity and revolutionary solidarity between the oppressed people of South Africa and the dispossessed people of the Arab countries.

Their struggle is just and must be supported! Down with Zionism!
Long Live Solidarity with the Arab Peoples in their just struggle!

GUIDELINES FOR SOLIDARITY MOVEMENTS

The following operative sections of a resolution adopted unanimously at the International Conference of Solidarity with the Peoples of Southern Africa and the Portuguese Colonies at Khartoum early this year, sets clear-cut guidelines for all progressive organisations and peoples.

We hope all organisations who support the cause of African liberation will act decisively to rally the widest possible support for the implementation of these demands:
Conference.

(1) **RECOMMENDS** that A.A.P.S.O., W.C.P. and other interested organisations co-operate in establishing in each individual country special national committees for the furthering of the scope of this conference and the implementation of its decisions. Anti-apartheid movements and committees supporting the struggle in the Portuguese colonies should be broadened so as to carry out the decisions of the conference. All existing committees and those to be established should co-ordinate their activities according to the special conditions in each individual country including the establishment of special committees on special issues.

(2) **REQUESTS** these national committees:

a) To undertake an intense campaign for publicising the struggle of the people of the Portuguese colonies and Southern Africa, the needs of the national liberation movements and the atrocities of the colonial and racist regimes by issuing bulletins, films and books, by carrying out cultural and political manifestations; using all the national public media, i.e. Press, Radio and T.V.

b) To celebrate the solidarity days of the National Liberation Movements by mass demonstrations.

4th February ANGOLA
17th March ZIMBABWE
25th May AFRICA
26th June SOUTH AFRICA
3rd August PORTUGUESE GUINEA & CAPE VERDE
26th August NAMIBIA
25th September MOZAMBIQUE

Where possible to invite representatives of the National Liberation Movements to be present during these celebrations.

c) To pressure the U.N. Association in each country to popularize the U.N. resolutions regarding colonialism, and help the anti-colonial movement.

(3) **REQUESTS** all governments of the world to recognise as the sole official and legitimate authorities of the respective countries the following fighting movements: MPLA (Angola), PAIGC (Guinea-Bissau), FRELIMO (Mozambique), ANC (South Africa), SWAPO (South West Africa), and ZAPU (Zimbabwe).

(4) **STRESSES** the necessity for the establishment of offices of the above mentioned liberation movements in all countries where it is possible.

(5) **RECOMMENDS** visits of representatives of liberation movements to all possible countries. It also stresses the necessity for visits of delegations of A.A.P.S.O., W.C.P., interested organisations and personalities to the liberated areas at the request of the liberation movements.

(6) **RECOMMENDS** the boycott of all Portuguese, Rhodesian and South African goods.

(7) **URGES** all national committees to expose the involvement of NATO in all the colonialist, neo-colonialist and racist activities in Africa.

(8) **REQUESTS** the National Committees to put every pressure on their respective governments for the implementation of the U.N. Resolutions regarding Zimbabwe, South Africa, S.W. Africa, and The Portuguese Colonies.

(9) **URGES** for intensification of all possible measures for the isolation of South Africa, and Rhodesia in all spheres (political, economic, cultural and social).

(10) **CALLS** upon all governments to apply all possible measures for the political, economic and diplomatic isolation of Portugal.

(11) **REQUESTS** A.A.P.S.O. and W.C.P. to furnish the national committees with copies of the U.N. resolutions connected with all colonial problems.

(12) **RECOMMENDS** the issuing of a special bulletin for exchange of experience, information and listing of communication routes for dispatch of material aid.

(13) **REQUESTS** the Ad-hoc mobilisation committee to take the necessary steps for the convening in Western Europe of a Conference on the Portuguese colonies, to be held under the broadest sponsorship of all anti-colonialist forces.

(14) **CALLS** for a campaign for the release of all political prisoners.

(15) **CALLS** for a campaign so that the prisoners taken in the course of the current National Liberation struggle, should be considered as prisoners of war and be treated in accordance with the Geneva Convention.

(16) **RECOMMENDS** that international and National Organisations involved in assisting families in liberated areas or those who are destitute due to the national liberation struggle, should do so with the co-operation of the National Liberation Movements mentioned above.

(17) **REQUESTS** the national committees to collect material to aid the National Liberation Movements, especially funds, vehicles, medicines, clothing, blankets, food-stuff etc. . . .

(18) **STRESSES** the necessity of medical services in the liberated areas and calls upon governments, international organizations, and national committees to organise the enlisting of doctors and para-medical staff for service in these areas.

(19) **EMPHASIZING** the importance of training cadres for the National Liberation Movements, this conference requests the countries to which there will be applications from the National Liberation Movements to consider them with the proper attention and to expand the training facilities.

(20) **IT CALLS UPON** governments, international organisations and national committees to assist in financing these training facilities.

(21) **IT CALLS UPON** friendly governments to accept travel documents issued by the national liberation movements. Also to provide passports or travel documents to the cadres of the movements mentioned in paragraph 3 for use in all other countries in the world.

(22) **REQUESTS** friendly governments, international organisations and national committees to offer scholarships to the above mentioned national liberation movements in various fields.

(23) **RECOMMENDS** the co-operation of the International Association of Democratic Lawyers, the International Commission of Jurists, and African Jurists to deal with the legal aspects of the struggle of the Peoples of Portuguese colonies and Southern Africa whenever necessary.

(24) **ENTRUSTS** the executive committee, which prepared this conference, composed of representatives of the six National Liberation Movements, representatives of the A.A.P.S.O., and W.C.P., to function as an Ad-Hoc mobilisation committee operating from Cairo for the implementation of the Conference decisions and for the exchange of information between different international organisations and national committees. The Secretary General of this committee shall be the Secretary General of the A.A.P.S.O. The chairmanship of this Committee shall rotate among the representatives of the six National Liberation Movements.

RACE AND APARTHEID POWER

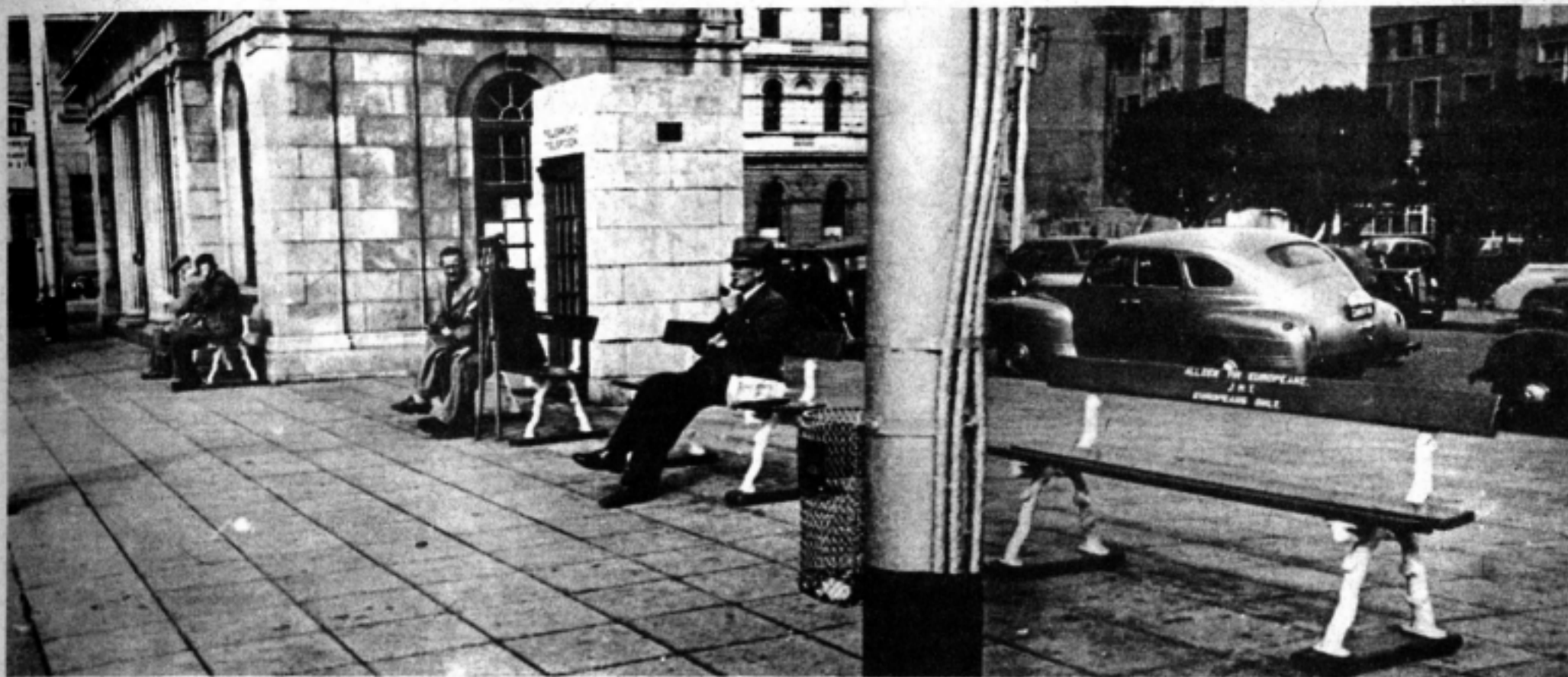
**How Domination
by the White Minority
is Perpetuated
in South Africa**

South Africa was once a colony of Britain; now she is a coloniser in the subcontinent, manipulating the economies and policies of a ring of client states and threatening, for economic as well as political and military reasons, the independence of African states to the north. South Africa is today an independent state; yet within her boundaries there exists the most blatant system of subjugation of a majority of the population, and there is being waged a fierce and unrelenting struggle for national liberation. South Africa is the most industrially advanced state on the African continent, with modern, technologically-sophisticated steel and engineering industries, a diversified manufacturing industry and a highly developed commercial and banking system. But within that same economy there also exist all the features of a colony: African areas which are stagnant labour reserves struggling for subsistence on a debilitated African agriculture, a migrant labour system, the absolute political, economic and social domination of a majority by a minority, and for the majority a total absence of democratic rights.

These contradictory aspects of the South African system are explained by the nature of the apartheid system which entrenches White minority power over an African majority population.

Police attack peaceful women' demonstration





Benches at public places are reserved for Whites only

RULE BY TERROR

Apartheid racism is a system of intense colonial-type exploitation. The difference between South Africa and other systems of colonialism is that in South Africa coloniser and colonised are present in the same country. The colony is not a distinct territory, separated by distance from the empire. Rulers and ruled live side by side within the same geographical boundaries. But colour and race are used as the dividing line between the resident army of occupation of the whites and their subject populations, Africans in the vast majority, and Indians and Coloured people. The White group dominates in every sphere and all political and economic power is concentrated in the hands of the so-called 'master' race. Insurmountable barriers are built by law and force, to seal off the spheres preserved for the White minority, and to exclude Africans from it except where they are needed to produce the wealth of the country and man the economy, at prescribed levels of employment and rates of pay. Theories of race supremacy are used to buttress this rigid system of colour stratification. Where the race theorising does not work – as it has not worked because nothing in 300 years of the history of White domination has convinced Africans of their own inferiority – then there is rule by terror. The shooting at Sharpeville. Government by emergency proclamation. Banishments, trials and detentions. The torture of political activists, the execution of political prisoners.

Apartheid is the official policy of the Nationalist Party which came to power – in all-white elections – in 1948. But the roots of the apartheid system grow much farther back than 1948, through successive minority white governments and three centuries of white rule in South Africa.

State Power Monopolised

The occupation of the country was achieved by military conquest of the African people, and the steady dispossession

of their land and cattle and the forced use of their labour. Early conflicts between Afrikaner (Boer) and English-speaking settlers led to the division of South Africa into British possessions and 'Boer' Republics, culminating in the Boer war at the beginning of this century, in which the Boer Republics were defeated. But by 1910 and the adoption of the South African Constitution, the disputing sides of white supremacy had already closed their ranks against the challenge to African demands. Between them, two parties, the United Party led by General Smuts and the Nationalist Party, led successively by Malan, Strijdom, Verwoerd and now Vorster, monopolised state power and the country's economic resources and devised a system of race rule to make this minority power impregnable. Smuts said of his policy, in 1945: 'There are certain things about which all South Africans are agreed, all parties and all sections except those who are quite mad. This is . . . that it is fixed policy to maintain white supremacy . . .' In 1936 Dr. Malan said: 'Reduced to its simplest form, the problem is nothing else than this: We want to keep South Africa white. Keeping it white can only mean one thing, namely White domination, not 'leadership' or guidance, but control, supremacy.' Two minority white parties, but a single policy of white domination.

Extremely Rich in Resources

The early pattern of the economy was one of mining and industry dominated by British capital and representative in the main, of United Party political interests; with Afrikaner economic interests entrenched in agriculture and the white farming community. Before World War 2 the Afrikaner share of economic power was relatively insignificant. That pattern has changed. The rise to political power of the Nationalist Party was accompanied by a sustained campaign for the acquisition of Afrikaner/Nationalist economic capi-

tal. Nationalist power today has an economic base of the bulk of the farming capital of the country, an expanding sector of private industrial and commercial capital, and a complete monopoly of State capital. By 1960 the amount of foreign capital invested in South Africa was about the same as the total of State capital, and the direction being taken by the economy was calculated to further strengthen the hold of State capital under the direction of the Nationalist Party and its supporters. In recent years there has also been a convergence between the two sectors of White economic power. Leading representatives of Afrikaner Nationalist and State capital have joined the boards of directors of the old mining and finance houses, the banks and insurance companies; and the mining-finance houses have themselves acquired industrial assets and interests. South Africa is extremely rich in resources. She produces

43 per cent of the mineral output of the entire continent, and two-thirds of the world's gold. She uses twice as much steel and electricity as the rest of Africa combined. 40 per cent of the continent's industrial products and 80 per cent of its coal come from South Africa. 30 per cent of the continent's income is generated in South Africa. Since the end of World War 2 South Africa has maintained an above average rate of growth. Between 1960 and 1965 it was an average figure of more than 6 per cent, one of the fastest in the capitalist world. This exceptional rate of growth is possible because of the special nature of apartheid. On the one hand the economy has reached a high level of industrial expansion, and on the other hand, it is guaranteed, through the workings of apartheid laws and controls, an exceptionally high degree of exploitation of cheap African labour. How does apartheid work?

CORNERSTONE OF APARTHEID POLICY

Cornerstone of the apartheid system is its land and labour policy. Africans are prohibited by law from owning or occupying more than 13% of the total land area of the country. These areas reserved for Africans were known first as reserves, latterly as the Bantu homelands, or Bantustans. 'What they (the white policy-makers) desire is to force into reserves as many Africans as possible under conditions which will compel them to come out and work for the Whites' said a liberal judge in 1931. Years of forcing too large populations into these areas together with a continuous history of neglect and a minimal, almost total lack of capital expenditure on improvements have turned these reserved areas into labour reserves with a debilitated African agriculture that cannot support its population. This poverty, together with the policy of compulsory taxation — a poll tax per head of male population regardless of income or whether the taxpayer is in employment or not — is the flywheel of the system of migrant labour. African labour is channelled into the mines, into the white farming areas, into industry and the cities, but it is regarded as temporary labour. The pass laws and other controls keep this labour market but place obstacles in the way of growth of secure and stable African urban communities and the development of an organised labour force, with trade union rights.

The economy cannot function without African labour, and each year demands an ever-increasing supply of it. Without African labour South Africa could not have reached, nor could it maintain, its present level of industrial production. The mining industry and agriculture are totally dependent on African labour. Africans, together with the other non-white groups, constitute 99 per cent of the unskilled workers in industry, 66 per cent of the semi-skilled and 17 per cent of the skilled labour.

(Mostly Indian and Coloured skilled workers, for Africans are prohibited by law from doing skilled work.) Whatever the theorists of apartheid say about separate development of the races, this is impossible under South Africa's highly industrialised and integrated economy. Of the total African population, approximately 4½ million live in the reserves. (Of these more than 40 per cent of the men between the

ages of 15 and 64 are migrant workers). The rest are distributed in approximately even proportions as labour for the white farming areas and industry. By 1950, 28 per cent of South Africa's non-whites lived in the towns; by 1960 the figure had risen to 37 per cent; and by 1970 it is expected to rise to 45 per cent.

Migratory Citizens

When the Nationalist party came to power in 1948 it advocated apartheid as official policy, instead of the previous system of segregation of the United Party, though, as pointed out, one was a development from the basis laid already by the other. The election manifesto of the Nationalist Party described apartheid as follows: 'In general terms our policy envisages segregating the most important ethnic groups and sub-groups in their own areas, where every group will be enabled to develop into a self-sufficient unit. We endorse the general principle of territorial segregation of Bantu (Africans) and Whites. **The Bantu (African) in the urban area as a whole should be regarded as migratory citizens not entitled to political or social rights equal to those of the Whites.**' The African people were expected to abandon their claim to rights and equality in the whole country, and to confine their aspirations to Bantustans or homelands. These Bantustans were to be built out of over 200 reserved areas (in which only 40 per cent of the total African population lives, remember) to which not an additional acre of land was to be added to help make them economically viable. The first Bantustan was set up in the Transkei, others are to follow, making up eight in all. These areas contain less than two-fifths of the African population of the country. The scheme is a device to try to stop the thrust of a united non-tribal liberation struggle of the African people, and to dissipate their unity in scores of societies thrust back into tribalism. White supremacy, it is calculated, will be strengthened by using tribal chiefs and reinforced tribal authority to focus attention not on the concentration of power in White hands but on a number of small tribal states. Above all the Bantustan scheme is used to rationalise the tragedies and hardships created by apartheid —

the economic pressures, the break-up of families, the ceaseless houndings by the police, the heavy burden of discriminatory laws – on the grounds that Africans may “develop in their own areas.”

Bantustan Fiction

But the experience of the Transkei, the first Bantustan, shows that this is simply not the case. The Transkei's independence is fictional. It has no real power, and no possibilities for economic development. On the Legislative Council or so-called Transkei Parliament there are 109 members, but 64 are chiefs, virtually government civil servants and liable to summary dismissal for antigovernment acts or sentiments. The Council may legislate only in certain proscribed fields, like justice, education and internal affairs, but its laws are promulgated subject to the approval of the South African Cabinet. As for development, this is impossible without heavy capital outlay, and though plans were laid on paper, they have not come to anything. It was, for instance, proclaimed government policy to establish industries in the Transkei to provide economic opportunities and development possibilities denied Africans in the rest of the country. From 1948 to 1965 nine industries only were opened, employing in all 1389 Africans. In 17 years a programme of so-called industrialisation created only 82 new jobs a year.

Whatever propaganda boost the Bantustans may be given as part of the new look of apartheid, they remain backward

impoverished areas from which Africans have to commute to work in white enterprises, leaving their families behind them. All the major industries, all the mineral wealth, all the important harbour facilities and the best arable land are in those parts of the country earmarked for white ownership and control. White prosperity and the present rate of industrial and other production are not possible without the steady supply of African labour. Apartheid as a scheme for so-called separate development is thus a deception.

Extreme Exploitation

But as a system of the intense exploitation of the South African majority it is unparalleled. The overwhelming bulk of the wealth of South Africa is enjoyed by a white population whose standard of living (based on the national income per head) is the highest of any major country in the world except the United States of America. But South Africa's dramatic rate of growth and this white minority prosperity has been achieved at tragic cost to the conditions of life of the majority of the people. On the gold mines African cash wages are, in real buying power, no higher today than they were in 1911. National income figures for South Africa tell the facts of the division by colour of the prosperity and poverty:

National Income per Head

| | |
|---|------------|
| Net National Income in South Africa | £ 2,535 m. |
| Per capita (all races) | 148.5 m. |
| National Income per capita for Whites | 624 m. |
| National Income per capita for Non-Whites | 36.7 m. |

African Mine workers at work



This means that the per capita income for Whites is 17 times that for Non-Whites.

Even in the years of South Africa's economic boom, after World War 2, the Non-White population shared hardly at all in the growing wealth of the country:

Growth in National Income per head of Non-Whites since the War:

| | |
|------|--------|
| 1950 | £ 28.7 |
| 1960 | 27.0 |
| 1961 | 27.6 |
| 1962 | 28.3 |
| 1963 | 29.95 |

In manufacturing industry, where half a million Africans are employed, the average wage is £21 a month. In industry the wage gap between Whites and Africans is 5 to 1; in mining it is 12 to 1. In 1960 the Whites, who constituted 19.3 per cent of the population accounted for 67 per cent of the national income; the Africans who constituted 68.4 per cent of the population received 26.5 per cent. The reservation of skilled jobs to whites only, started for the mining industry in 1911, has steadily been extended to other occupations. Trade unions are segregated by race and African trade unions are refused registration. African strikes are illegal, with threats of heavy penalties (a fine of £500 or three years' imprisonment or both). The earnings of African workers are determined not by collective bargaining but by decree of the white minority government.

No Vote

The key to the technique of race rule is the total and absolute exclusion of Non-Whites from participation in any aspect of government, whether legislative or executive. Only whites may be nominated or elected as members of Parliament, Provincial Councils or Town Councils. Even the wretched provision under earlier laws whereby a small group of African voters could elect three White members to represent their interests in Parliament was abolished. No African may sit as judge, magistrate or prosecutor, nor may he serve on a jury. No Africans can become officers in the army or the police force. No African may serve in the civil service except at the most menial rank in a clerical department serving Africans only. Discrimination in education is

designed to keep Africans at the most menial levels in society. Under the Bantu Education Act it is illegal for African children to receive any but state-controlled education, and this is specially conducted to ensure that there will be no place for Africans "above certain forms of labour" (the words of the former Prime Minister Dr. Verwoerd). When it comes to expenditure on education, the same discrimination operates: about £63 is spent on the education of a white child and £9 on an African child.

Host of Discriminatory Laws

The statute book is heavy with discriminatory laws, amended to make them progressively more burdensome and oppressive. Under the Population Registration Act of 1960 the entire population is classified by race and sub-group. Humiliating 'race' tests have been inflicted on people, and families torn asunder in the registration of different members as different races or sub-groups. Under the Group Areas Act, different group areas have been declared for different population groups, and settled communities have been uprooted and arbitrarily transported to different areas totally undeveloped and barely provided with by social services and education. Under the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Act, marriages between Whites and Africans were made illegal. Under the Immorality Act, sexual relations between the races are punishable by heavy penalties. The pass laws and influx control measures, which restrict the movement of Africans out of the reserves have been made more stringent and applied to African women. A thousand Africans a day are arrested under the pass laws and hauled before court for prosecution and imprisonment. Africans in the cities must live compulsorily in segregated areas, may not enter such areas without previous permission, and, if they are arrested at any time of night or day, must prove before court that they have not been in the area without permission, for longer than 72 hours. Curfews operate at night and breaking the curfew is a criminal offence. When it comes to social services, the Unemployment Insurance Act has been amended to exclude Africans from its benefits. Health services for Africans are slender, and in one of the most flourishing societies of this century, the infant mortality rate for Africans in some cities is as high as 400 per 1,000.

DEFIANCE BY MAJORITY

This grim record of repression and discrimination met with mounting opposition and defiance of the majority of the people, under the leadership, since 1912, of the African National Congress. As the challenge to the power of the white supremacy state sharpened, South Africa's governments, particularly since the accession to power of the Nationalist Party, has embarked on a policy of suppressing all opposition by force and terror. Official policy towards African trade unions is 'to bleed them to death' (The words of the Minister of Labour). Among the first repressive measures placed on the statute book by the Nationalist Government was the Suppression of Communism Act. This Act outlawed communism and the Communist Party of South Africa, but under the guise of fighting 'communism' it gave

the government draconic powers to deal with all effective opposition. Significantly in the exercise of these powers, the government banned the countless opponents of its policies, regardless of their political conviction but because they were resisting its policies. In 1952 during the Defiance Campaign when 8500 volunteers courted imprisonment against unjust laws, the government passed legislation (the Public Safety and Criminal Law Amendment Acts) making even non violent contraventions of the law punishable by severe penalties which included flogging. The Government also took powers to declare states of emergency and to rule by edict and proclamation. It was during this period that the Minister of Justice issued instructions to his police force to "shoot first and ask questions afterwards." The



Passes being burnt during 1959-60 Anti-Pass Campaign

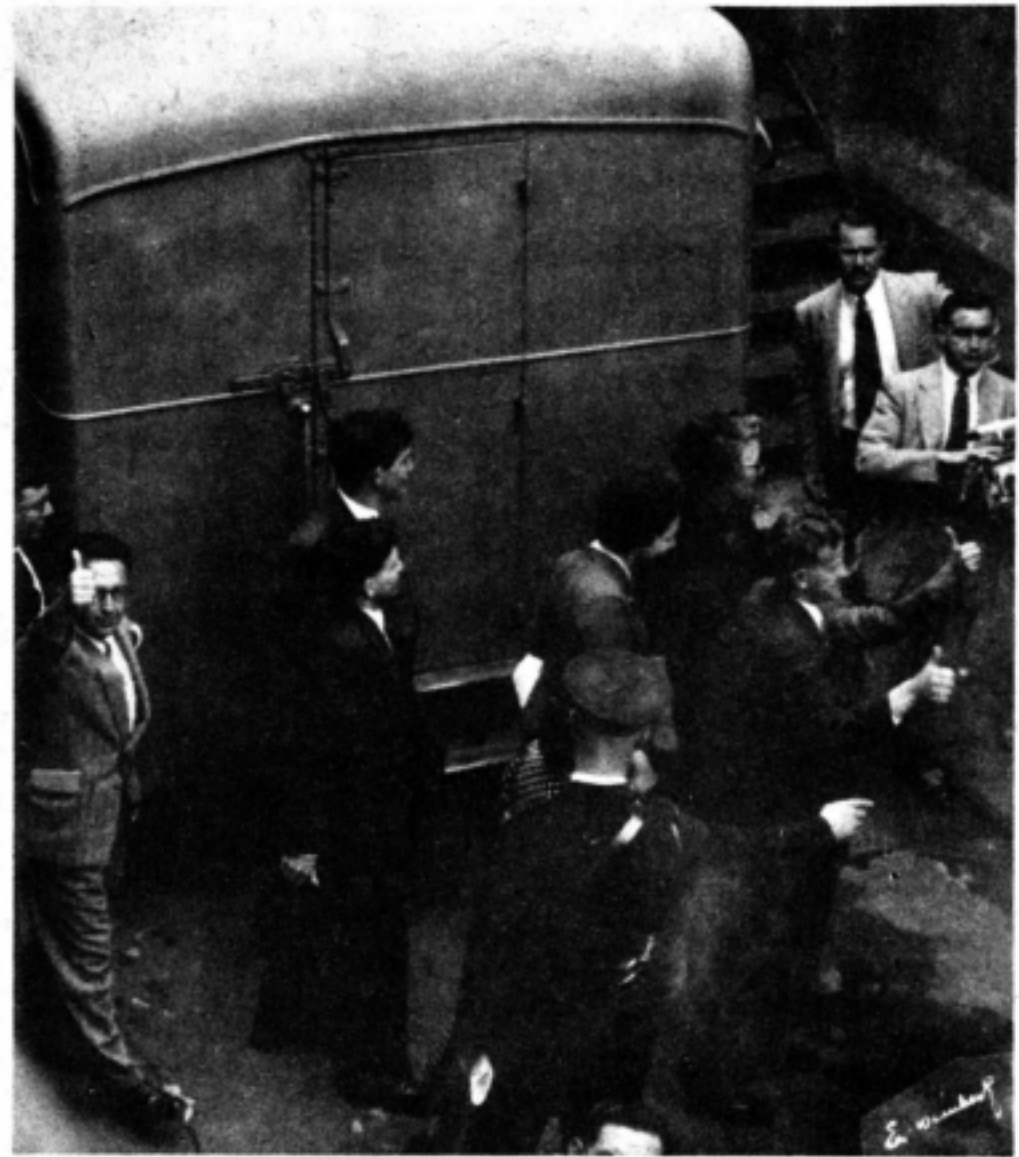
rule of law has become a mockery and all avenues for peaceful protest, and all legal means for obtaining redress of grievances and recognition of equal rights have been denied to the African people. The Sharpeville shooting of March 1960 was a culmination of this policy of brute repression of all political protest. The general strike called by the African National Congress, the year after Sharpeville was crushed with the largest mobilisation of the army, Saracen tanks included, since the world wars. The year after this marked the outbreak of armed protest and defiance of the resistance movement. To this the government responded with ever greater severity. The General Law Amendment Act of 1962 (Sabotage Act) imposed drastic penalties, including death, for acts of sabotage which were defined arbitrarily and widely, and placed the onus of proof largely on the accused. The General Law Amendment Act of 1963 (The No Trial Law) authorised the government to detain anyone for 90 days at a time for interrogation in solitary confinement, and laws the year after that created retroactive offences, so that a man might be punished for an act not unlawful at the time he committed it.

After 1963 over fifty persons were executed for acts of political opposition to the government. Under the 90 day detention law, subsequently withdrawn only to be replaced with a law for 180 day detention in solitary confinement, torture by mind-breaking has been made official government practice and policy. There has been a series of pro-

Footnote:

(1) The most recent estimates of the population of the different racial groups are as follows:

| | |
|----------|----------------|
| Whites | 3.95 million |
| Africans | 12.162 million |
| Coloured | 1.742 million |
| Indian | 0.533 million |



A section of the 156 Congress leaders charged with Treason defiantly greet people with the banned "Afrika" salute

longed mass trials of opposition leaders till South Africa has one of the highest populations of political prisoners in the world.

Ugly and Barbarous

Apartheid laws are drastic and their implementation ruthless. Far from pausing to reconsider policies which are reaping such a disastrous harvest in terms of human lives and suffering, the government has tremendously expanded its military and police forces to suppress resistance. Expenditure on defence has quadrupled between 1960 and 1964. The government seeks to be able to put 250,000 trained and well-armed men in the field, and is concentrating on the training of every able-bodied White. There is no race repression as ugly and barbarous as that practiced by the apartheid system in South Africa, and its ally Portugal in her colonies of Mocambique and Angola, also in Southern Africa.

"This then", said Nelson Mandela, speaking from the dock of the Rivonia Trial when he was sentenced to life imprisonment for his leadership of the African National Congress freedom movement. "is what the African National Congress is fighting for. Their struggle is a truly national one. It is a struggle of the African people, inspired by their own suffering and their own experience. It is a struggle for the right to live. During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to the struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

This Interview by DR. EDUARDO MONDLANE, late President of FRELIMO, was perhaps his last detailed statement on Mozambique and his own background. It was published in the Egyptian Gazette on January 20, 1969, exactly two weeks before his assassination.

MOZAMBIQUE NOW ONE-FIFTH UNDER AFRICAN RULE

"There is guerrilla war in one-third of Mozambique. One-fifth of the country, in the north-west provinces, is under our control. The Portuguese have moved out completely and we run our own schools, hospitals and agricultural co-ops there. We administer the area, in fact. And the second FRELIMO congress to be held – it took place in July 1968 – was held in Mozambique itself. The Afro-Asian Peoples Solidarity Organisation sent delegates – one of them an Egyptian."

The man speaking obviously had a greater respect for facts than for oratorical abstraction that so often besets people with a mission, but this is hardly surprising in view of his background. For Eduardo Mondlane, President of FRELIMO, Front for the Liberation of Mozambique, is an ex-university professor turned freedom-fighter. He studied sociology and holds a Ph.D. in anthropology which he taught in Syracuse University, USA.

Recognised Risks

A tall man – well over six-foot high- who spoke quietly, laughed well, but quietly, Dr. Mondlane gave the impression of having considered all the personal risks involved and quietly categorised them along with those to do with crossing a road, for instance, or driving a car, as an inevitable part of life and work that aren't worth bothering about.

"At that second FRELIMO conference", he continued, very obviously deeply proud of the achievement in having been able to hold it on liberated Mozambique territory, "we discussed the war, of course, and trade and our administrative projects. You know Basil Davidson – the British writer. Basil Davidson was there."

One could feel his happiness. The oppressors had been flung out of that particular part of his country and the people of Mozambique were so confident of the security of the area under their control that they had a well-known British friend of Africa to their conference. And Basil Davidson had gone to Mozambique and discussed the liberation struggle with the Mozambicans rather in the way that Dr. Mondlane was himself now in Cairo discussing Arab liberation at the Second Conference in Support of the Arab Peoples.

Tete Province

"Two months earlier", he said, "in March '68, we had opened up a new military front in Tete Province. Tete Province

is where the Portuguese have their Cabora Bassa central dam scheme. They're planning to build a dam bigger than the Aswan High Dam on the Zambesi and export electricity to South Africa and Rhodesia. They say it will enable them to settle one million whites in Mozambique within ten years. Now there are only 150,000 whites against 8 million Africans. The idea is to form a great white barrier across southern Africa.

"The dam will cost 300 million dollars. Imagine, the money was subscribed within six months: America, Britain, France and Japan – they all rushed to pay up, though they know that a war of liberation is going on. The Portuguese colonialists didn't have the struggle that Egypt had to get financial aid for the High Dam. The imperialists help each other. "This is what we're up against. The Imperialists are in an alliance to stop the advance of freedom to Southern Africa. Our struggle is crucial and our people as a whole have decided to fight."

First Congress

Asked about FRELIMO's early activities, Dr. Mondlane said that in 1962 when the organisation was founded, it decided at its first congress in September of that year to establish a clandestine political organisation throughout the length and breadth of the country, and to start military training for the people.

"In 1963 and '64 we sent people abroad for military training and by mid-1964 we had a sufficient number of trainees to launch our first guerrilla attack on September 24 of that year. We started like the Palestinian guerrillas first started – in a small way. We had few trained people; little equipment. But the spirit to fight was there. And today, with the exception of a few officers who go abroad for training, all the training is done in our own country.

"And what about your own personal struggle for a education? It surely wasn't easy to come by in a Portuguese colony?"

"No, it wasn't. After going through primary education I had to join an agricultural school because the Portuguese blocked the way to African secondary education. But I was looking around all the while to get a scholarship. I wanted to get on. The English missionaries taught me English. Then the Swiss missionaries gave me a scholarship to a secondary school they had in Transvaal.

South African Background

"When I returned home from Transvaal, I wanted to go to university. I got another scholarship. This time to Witwatersrand University in Johannesburg. I was there from 1945 to 1949 when the South African Government threw me out."

"Dr. Malan?"

Dr. Mondlane laughed. "Precisely. Malan discovered my existence. I was the only "foreign" African in the University and one year after Malan came to power on his apartheid programme he threw me out."

The same American Negro foundation which had helped Kwame Nkrumah to study in the United States – the Phelps-Stokes Fund – then helped the young Mondlane to continue his studies in Lisbon. "But you can't study sociology in a fascist state", he said, laughing again.

"And in '51 I got another scholarship to the United States. I went to four colleges. After I got my Ph.D. in anthropology I worked as a research officer in the United Nations. I did that for four years – from 1957 to 1961. In the autumn of 1961 I started teaching at Syracuse."

Tambo, Mandela, Piliso

"When you started off to get an education, did you have any idea that you would one day be doing what you're doing now. Did you know you'd be involved in the African liberation struggle?"

"Yes", he said reflectively, "I did know I would somehow be involved". He spoke more slowly, rather sadly. "You see my father had 15 children. My father and mother and all my brothers were illiterate. I was the youngest. My mother died when I was 13. She was dying of cancer and had to go away to hospital. I wanted to stay with her, but she wouldn't let me. She said I must get an education. I must learn the white man's magic. Only that way could we fight him. Of course, later, at Witwatersrand, I met Oliver Tambo, Nelson Mandela and Piliso. They and the activities of the African National Congress sharpened my political views. But I was committed long before that."



'REMEMBER NUREMBERG'

German legal expert writes to Rhodesian Supreme Court

In a letter to Judge H. E. Davies, President of the Rhodesian Supreme Court, Professor Steiniger, Director of the Institute of International Law of the Humboldt University of Berlin, lays bare the fallacy of the court's claim to be administering justice.

Professor Steiniger declares: 'I read with abhorrence in the international press that the court which you head has proclaimed its right to sentence to execution or imprisonment, resistance fighters of the people of Zimbabwe maintaining their rights of national self-determination'.

Professor Steiniger, while under no illusion as to how such a court will respond to the dictates of international law, brings to the judge's notice his personal responsibilities for the court's criminal actions.

He continues: 'The regime which you serve, and which you have declared to be legal, claims the right as successor of British colonial rule and in the name of little more than 200,000 alien settlers, to refuse equality of rights to the four-million-strong population of Zimbabwe to whom it is hostile, and demands the acceptance of racist alien rule'.

Professor Steiniger further points out that the colonial regime in contrary to valid international law on the basis of Article 1, Paragraph 2 of the United Nations Charter. He notes that the Rhodesian regime's 'genuine or apparent differences with the British Crown are completely immaterial'. Under Article 51 of the U.N. Charter, every oppressed people has the natural right to use all necessary means of defence against an acute or chronic state of aggression. 'The patriots of Zimbabwe who make use of this right,' says Professor Steiniger, 'are engaged in an international armed conflict with the occupation forces, that is to say they must be treated as prisoners of war in accordance with the Geneva Prisoners of War Convention of September 12, 1949. They may not be punished for exercising the right of resistance, which for them is a patriotic duty, irrespective of the standards and procedures decreed by the occupationists. In other words, the activities of your court, and the authorities subject to it, with regard to these prisoners of war, constitute murder or illegal detention, and every person involved in the proceedings is personally responsible'.

Professor Steiniger draws a telling parallel with the situation which existed in Nazi Germany. He says: 'As a German anti-fascist I know from experience that there are judges who believe that at the time of the existence of a regime of fascist terror they may ignore the generally-recognised basic principles of international law'. He further remarks that 'the Lawyers' Trail conducted by an International Tribunal at Nuremberg in 1947 has obviously not opened the eyes of everybody to the fact that if the dagger is concealed under the judge's robes, this only exacerbates the responsibility for the crime . . . Remove your hands from the prisoners of war whom you dare, contrary to international law, to prosecute as criminals because they exercise their internationally-recognised rights; otherwise you will yourself one day find yourself prosecuted in the name of the law, the law which you desecrate with your sentences. If your conscience does not recommend this course, then at least the example of Nuremberg should dismay you'.

Copies of Professor Steiniger's letter have been widely circulated by the Presidium of the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee of the GDR and its contents have been greeted with interest.

President Kaunda, acknowledging receipt of the letter said, 'I think it is important that people like Judge Davies are written to in this way by fellow lawyers so that they know that what they are doing is wrong and is being condemned by the rest of the world'.

INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

Featuring current news and comment
from apartheid South Africa

UNDERGROUND ACTIVITY

A new illegal leaflet has been distributed in South Africa, once more under the very noses of Voster's gestapo.

It is called "Freedom", and it is issued by the South African Communist Party. "Africans will defeat Vorster and Smith", it proclaims; "the war has begun for the liberation of Southern Africa from the fascist white supremacy regimes." The leaflet summarises a recent policy statement by the Central Committee of the Communist Party, and deals with 4 key questions:

- Why is it that our freedom can only be won by fighting an armed struggle?
- What should we, the working people of South Africa, do about it?
- How long will the war go on?
- Who will win?

The leaflet argues that the struggle will not be an easy one, because "the liberation of our country cannot be accomplished without the actual defeat and destruction of South African imperialism itself: the overthrow of the present State."

But, it goes on, we shall win! "The example of Vietnam has proved that a small nation determined to fight for its independence can stop, and defeat even, the most rich and powerful capitalist country, the United States of America, with all its terror weapons, napalm, bombs, planes and tanks.

"As the fighting spreads, our people are sure to become more and more militant and ready to take action of all kinds - in industry, in farming, in mining, everywhere. "It is true that the Vorster and Smith regimes have their friends abroad, the big capitalists of the West. But the oppressed people of our country have their tried and proven friends as well - the people and governments of the free African states; the Soviet Union and other socialist countries; the working people in the imperialist countries themselves.

"The harder we fight, the more they will support us!

"Above all, we shall win because our cause is just, and the enemy's cause is not. They are fighting to preserve oppression, inequality and slavery. We are fighting for

freedom - one man, one vote; land for the people; skilled jobs and good pay for the workers. We fight for the Freedom Charter. "We shall win - but every one of us will have to play his part, and there are many ways to fight.

"When workers form trade unions and strike for better wages, they are helping our freedom struggle.

"When students at Fort Hare and other universities hold protests and sit-ins, they are striking a blow against apartheid and Vorster.

"When women resist pass laws and other unfair measures, they are helping to free South Africa.

"Africans, Indians, Coloured people, white democrats, fight apartheid! Build your national movements. Support your revolutionary organisations, the African National Congress and the Communist Party.

"Every man or woman helps who speaks up and exposes the lies of Bantu Education, Radio Bantu, Group Areas Act, Coloured and Indian Councils and other poisons meant to make the people submissive and servile. Resist the police! Expose informers! Deal with traitors!

The Communist Party pledges that it will carry on the freedom struggle to the very end; just as it has stood foremost in every struggle for 47 years, in spite of persecution and illegality. Our members are pledged to set an example of sacrifice and courage, for they are inspired by the brilliant teachings of Marx and Lenin, which have already led first the socialist Soviet Union and then one third of the earth's people to freedom. They know that the first essential for our country, South Africa, is the winning of the common programme of the liberation movement - the Freedom Charter, as the condition for the eventual achievement of socialism, the future of mankind."

MURDER AT LIMEHILL

There are murders being committed today at Limehill, Natal. They are as much the murders of apartheid as the shootings at Sharpeville 9 years ago. Limehill is what the Government calls a resettlement centre. The people there are the victims of mass removals in Northern Natal, under the Group Areas Act. They have been dragged from their homes, loaded on to lorries, and dumped - some in tents, some on the bare

veld. No houses, no schools, no clinics. Not even a proper water supply, or sanitary facilities. Work, if any, may be up to 70 miles away, and wives and children are lucky if they see their breadwinner more than once in a month.

In these disgraceful conditions, disease broke out, in November 1968. Father Rodney Nelson, priest in charge of the local Amakhasi Roman Catholic mission, reported that 35 people had died of typhoid, the disease of filth and misery.

The government reacted in typical fashion. It denied the whole thing and on December 4th Dr. D. H. Hooey, Natal Regional Director for State Health, declared after visiting the area the disease was not typhoid, but gastroenteritis - "apparently the result of insanitary conditions," he admitted. Another State Health department spokesman in Durban added coolly that this was "quite normal at this time of year, because of the heat and flies." The District surgeon at Dundee did not think the situation was serious. "I suppose some children have died," he said, "I have been on leave for the past month."

The Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr. M. C. Botha, told the Sunday Express on December 8th: "We are acting according to certain planning at Limehill, and we are going ahead with it. I am not in the least interested in the political campaigns of your newspapers and others, and in that bunch of clergymen. And you can tell that to the world."

The Rand Daily Mail reported 4 more deaths at Limehill on December 10th, bringing the total deaths in a fortnight to 36. The Minister of Health, Dr. Carel de Wet, said that the death rate of Limehill was "normal for the time of year". Yes, that was the same de Wet who complained after Sharpeville that so FEW Africans had been killed.

An Opposition M. P., Dr. Aubrey Radford, called Limehill a disaster, and accused the Government of "creating a slum by throwing together rural Africans in an urban area without providing them with necessary health guidance and sanitation." The Archbishop of Durban said Limehill was a shocking place. A doctor working at the Catholic medical mission called conditions there "appalling." Father Nelson offered to show Minister de Wet the graves of the typhoid victims, if he would only come and see for himself. "I am fed up," he said "The only thing that will silence me now is Robben Island."

The Government did the usual thing. It banned all newspapermen from the area, and sent its police to threaten Father Nelson, unless he stops his "nonsense" as they are pleased to call his battle for the people of Limehill. This is the picture of Limehill, from one newspaper report:

"Mrs. Julia Mncunu was wearing a blue mourning apron and headgear when we visited her mudhut in Limehill. In her arms she rocked a sick one-year-old daughter, Tholakele. "Nguga, her 56-year-old husband, coughed continuously as he lay on the moist ground of the hut.

"I don't know what we've done," Mrs. Mncunu said, "we are dying of hunger, and a plague has struck in this village. People

are virtually living in the graveyard, burying others every day."

Mrs. Mncunu is right. Apartheid is a graveyard. You only have to look through the South African press, and what you find is a catalogue of ruined lives.

THE MONEY MEN

Every week another batch of them arrives – the money men. Fares paid by the South African Foundation or the companies of which they're directors, they bound off the planes at Jan Smuts Airport, with big bulging briefcases and big toothy smiles. While the Governments of the USA, Britain and other countries in Western Europe pay lip-service to anti-racialism at the United Nations, they're only too keen for their subjects to reap huge profits from the labour of South Africa's hungry workers.

British exporters are queueing up to send representatives to explore the South African market. The annual quota of between 12 and 14 trade missions for this year is already filled and the British National Export Council (which has increased the number of missions to South Africa from 3 in 1966 to 12 last year) is now 'looking at ways in which the situation might be improved in co-operation with its opposite number in Pretoria'

South African merchandise exports to Britain in eleven months last year rose by nearly 100 million rand compared with the same period in 1967. Exports from Britain increased by more than 12 million rand.

Growth of US exports soared too, by nearly 8 per cent.

South Africa accounts for more than one-third of the United States 1,300-million dollars' worth of sales to Africa.

The money men have beautiful things to say about this country of ours. Selwyn Lloyd, Tory ex-Foreign Secretary is longing for the day when Britain will export warships to us. Mr. Joseph Hiley, Tory M. P. for Pudsey, Yorkshire, describes African living conditions lyrically. He even describes how each location has "a swimming-pool full of happy children, and in one there was a library equally as good as anything we have at home." As for the notices that say "Whites Only" – Mr. Hiley doubts "if it worries the Blacks as much as it does the Whites." Seems as if the money men will believe anything.

BIG EARNERS

Some of the big names that are making big money in show business seem to feel the same way. Tom Jones is the latest to sell himself for apartheid. The Grade Empire has lots and lots of planes to bring stars to South Africa this year. A breath of fresh air came from the Scottish singers, the Corries who have turned down a lucrative two-week booking to sing at the Rand industrial exhibition in March. Said one of them, Ronnie Browne, "We can't fathom how, at an international exhibition of this kind, they can have a black day and a white day. We are definitely against apartheid."

So there are some people to whom money isn't everything.

DEPARTMENT OF JUSTICE

We see cases every week where an African is hanged or receives a lengthy sentence for something for which a White gets a fine or a suspended sentence. When it comes to fines themselves, the difference in African and White earnings makes for further spectacular travesties of justice.

In the Bredasdorp Magistrate's Court recently, an African was found guilty of breaking off a twig from an ornamental tree. The penalty? A fine of R40, or 60 days. An African woman in the Cape, convicted of stealing a jersey, was fined R30, or ninety days. So next time a White 'breaks an ornamental twig' we trust they'll be fined the equivalent – R400. Or R300 for the jersey.

ANOTHER MASS TRIAL

Twelve Africans are currently being tried in the Supreme Court Pietermaritzburg on a charge of taking part in "terrorist" activities and military training in the Transkei. Ten of them were also charged on four other counts, including allegations of undergoing military training in countries outside South Africa.

They are: Bifan Matthews Ngcobo, Lungepi Amos Lengisi, Themba Linus Dhlamini, Lawrence Madimetjie Phokannokia, Patrick Sindile Mantanyana, Daluxolo Wordsworth Luthuli, Gabeikangwe Johannes Seleke, Siliias Mogotse, Ezra Mvuyiza Sigwela, Twalemfene Joyi, Sisa Allen Dukada, and Dorothy Nomzanisi Nyembe.

One of the accused, Dorothy Nyembe, has just come out of prison after serving five years for ANC activities. None of the other accused are known to have been previously arrested.

This is one of the big "conspiracy" cases which the South African regime is so fond of cooking up. It is alleged that the accused took part in "terrorist" activities between June 1965 and November 1968. They are alleged to have taken part in these activities with other persons including Abram Fischer, Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Joe Slovo, Jack Hodgson, Oliver

Tambo and Duma Nokwe. The first three of these "co-conspirators" are serving terms of life imprisonment and the others have been in exile since before the period referred to. And we wonder how Dorothy Nyembe, also imprisoned, could have been active in the manner alleged.

The accused have asked for *pro deo* defence. Knowing how the authorities have refused to supply legal aid to political accused and how nervous lawyers are becoming about handling political cases as a result of intimidation, we wonder how this request will be received. The South African government is determined to prevent political accused from getting a fair trial. Hence their banning of the South African Defence and Aid Fund – and the shocking provisions of the recent "Terrorist" Act, which makes accused persons guilty until they are proved innocent.

EDUCATION DENIED

The authorities are following a punitive policy of clamping down on the studies of political prisoners on Robben ("Hell") Island. 56 of them have been prevented from writing university examinations or from studying further by correspondence. Forbidden newspapers or radio, watched like hawks and censored in all visits from relatives, the political prisoners who toil all day, under brutal warders, in Robben Island's quarries have only one "escape" from their nightmare conditions: their studies.

These have always been heavily restricted. Constant frustrations and delays have been routine. (One prisoner studying a novel was told that "story books" were not allowed and his textbooks were confiscated by an ignorant official.) No study beyond a Bachelor's degree is allowed. The many highly educated prisoners are forbidden to register for higher degrees. Why? In the words of Minister of Justice, Pelsler: "It becomes confusing." Now, on top of all this, comes the new clamp-down. We appeal to people outside South Africa to take this matter up – now.

In dismal conditions – rain and biting wind – a mass removal got under way from Washbank to Limehill



NEO-COLONIALISM,

MILITARY COUPS

AND AFRICAN LIBERATION

Full Text Of Paper
Submitted to the
Khartoum
Conference
In Support
of the Peoples
of Southern Africa
and the
Portuguese Colonies
by Jack Woddis

It is impossible to consider the struggle of the people of Southern Africa and the Portuguese Colonies in isolation from what has happened in the rest of Africa. The policy pursued by the imperialist powers towards the independent African States is not something separate and apart from the wars the imperialists and white settlers are waging against the peoples of Southern Africa and the Portuguese Colonies, but two wings of an overall aim and strategy, notwithstanding the inter-imperialist rivalries arising from the particular aims and interest of each imperialist power. One can only appreciate this if one takes an overall look at the developments in Africa in the past ten to fifteen years.

In the first decade after 1950 Africa made great advances in its struggle for independence and an end to direct colonial government. The struggle was conducted in various forms, by mass demonstrations and processions, by boycotts and strike actions, by peasant resistance to official agricultural schemes or to seizure of land by white settlers, by elections and the formation of political parties, by the publishing of newspapers and the issuing of manifestos. In a number of cases armed struggle was waged before independence was won, the longest and most bitter battles being those in Algeria (1954-1962) and Kenya (1952-1957), but armed conflict also ensued in the Cameroon, clashes took place in Morocco and Tunisia, there was a revolt crushed by appalling ferocity in Madagascar (now Malagasy), and in Egypt (1952) armed action by patriotic officers was necessary to overthrow the corrupt regime of Farouk, backed by imperialism.

Retreat Forced On Imperialists

Even in those African countries where armed struggle did not take place - and this, in fact, was true of most - struggle was nevertheless waged, and not a single African State became independent without its martyrs to the cause of anti-colonialism. Nowhere did the imperialists, as they like to claim, 'grant' independence to the people of Africa. Any retreat on the part of the imperialists was forced on them by the mass movement of the people. The winning of independence by Ghana in 1957 and Guinea in 1958 had a great impact on the whole of Africa. The dam of colonialism was broken; in quick successions in both the former British and former French colonies independence was secured in a number of States. Congo entered the same path in 1960, only to fall a victim to new forms of domination. But, overall, 1960 was a year of advance, 'Africa Year' as it came to be known. Soon there were to be more than thirty independent African States. That the Western powers were compelled to retreat in the face of the advancing national liberation movements, and that they recognised the need to come to terms with reality and to seek a new basis from which they could retain their economic grip

and prepare for new offensive, is clear from the statements at the time by their leading spokesmen. Thus, it was on February 3, 1960, speaking in Cape Town, that the then British Prime Minister, Harold Macmillan, made his famous 'wind of change' speech in which he spoke of the 'strength of African national consciousness' blowing through the continent and compelling the British Government to 'accept it as a fact'. In the same way, General de Gaulle, in a speech on December 9, 1960, to French officers at Bled a year before the cease-fire agreement with the Algerian National Liberation Front (FLN) pleaded with his officers to understand the new situation which made it impossible to hold on to the control of Algeria.

By 1964, there were 34 independent African States, there was an Organization of African Unity with a positive Charter; and, perhaps still more significant, a group of advanced States - the United Arab Republic, Algeria, Ghana, Guinea, Mali, the Congo (Brazzaville), Zanzibar-Tanganyika (later Tanzania) - which were beginning to cut themselves loose from the imperialist orbit and make radical changes in their economic, social, and political patterns.

Puppet Government Overthrown

The year 1963 and 1964, had alarmed the imperialists. In August 1963, the puppet government of Fulbert Youlu was overthrown in Congo (Brazzaville) by the mass action of the people, and a new popular government came to power. In October 1963, a widespread movement of the people helped to precipitate the fall of the reactionary government of Dahomey (though the military were able to step in and take over). A similar move of the people against the Government of Gabon was thwarted when French paratroops reinstated the unseated government. In January 1964, an armed people's uprising overthrew the government of Zanzibar. And in October 1964, the military regime of General Abboud was overthrown.

Thus, in little more than twelve months, five unpopular governments had been overthrown. Only in one case, that of Gabon which had been more in the nature of a coup

from on top than a genuine wide movement of the people, had the imperialists been able to intervene openly.

General Strike in Nigeria

But that was not all. There had been a significant general strike in Nigeria, embracing nearly a million workers, followed a few months later by a political crisis in connection with the general elections. The Liberation Army in Guinea - Bissau, led by the PAIGC, had won important gains, liberating nearly two-fifths of the territory and winning international acclaim. In Angola, the MPLA had regrouped its forces and launched a new offensive. Armed struggle was openly begun by the national liberation movement, FRELIMO, in Mozambique in September 1964; and a week later the Sawaba Party announced that armed struggle was taking place against the Government of Niger. Meanwhile, guerrilla war was spreading in Congo (Kinshasa).

Imperialist Counter-Offensive

It was to halt these historic advances that the imperialists began their counter-offensive in Africa. Central to their intrigues was the parachute attack on Stanleyville, in the Congo, in November 1964. On February 19, 1965, the Tribune des Nations revealed the intentions of the imperialists. The landing of the paratroops in Stanleyville, it wrote, was only part of NATO'S strategic plan in Africa. The aim was a much vaster intervention, which would transcend the frontiers of the Congo'. The months that followed certainly confirmed such intentions. There was assassinations of progressive leaders, plots to overthrow popular governments, military action to intimidate governments, attempts to confuse and divide the people by beating the drum of anti-communism, and open drives in particular countries against the most consistently anti-imperialist and forward-looking leaders. On January 16, 1965, Pierre Ngendandumwe, Premier of Burundi, was assassinated - and the assassin turned out to be a former employee of the U. S. Embassy in that State. On February 1965, three national leaders of Congo (Brazzaville) were kidnapped and later found murdered, their corpses shockingly mutilated. On February 24, 1965, one of Kenya's outstanding national leaders, Pio Pinto, was assassinated by gunmen outside his house. It is rumoured that the names of other progressive leaders in Kenya, including Oginga Odinga, Adhieng Oneko, and Bildad Kaggia, were on the gunmen's list.

Plot Against Nyerere

A few weeks later President Nyerere announced the discovery of an anti-government plot in which, it was alleged US Embassy officials had been involved. In Congo (Brazzaville), the deposed President, Youlou, was smuggled out of the country in preparation for a new plot to restore him to power. In Malawi, all the progressive Ministers were forced out of the government or compelled to flee by the President, Dr. Hastings Banda, and the country fell back into almost open British control, with British officers, running the army, police force, intelligence services, and with British officials guiding all the ministries and other key departments of state. During the same period, US planes attacked the Tshombe forces in the Congo attacked neighbouring Uganda, and violated the frontiers of Sudan. In a strong statement to the Uganda Government, the Prime Minister Dr. Obote, openly accused the United States of complicity in the attacks. A few weeks later the Guinea Government was complaining of attacks across her frontiers by Portuguese troops from Guinea-Bissau.

So serious had the situation become that in an address to the Ghana Parliament on March 22, 1965, President

Nkrumah declared that his Government had "unmistakable evidence that plans are in an advanced state of preparation for the overthrow of the progressive government of the Congo (Brazzaville) and other States by certain powers". He also stated that he had had recent discussions with the Presidents of Guinea, Mali and Algeria, during which they had agreed 'to continue to maintain great vigilance against increasing penetration of imperialists and neo-colonialists in Africa'.

Series of Military Coups

Since that warning, a series of military coups have taken place in Africa, and in February 1966, President Nkrumah himself was deposed by an armed coup while he was out of the country.

Further coups and drives against progressive forces took place in that year and the following two years in Sierra Leone, Dahomey and other countries, culminating before the end of 1968 in the military coup against Modibo Keita in Mali.

There are two main aims in Africa as far as the imperialists are concerned. First, to ensure that the countries that have won independence remain under imperialists domination - and to that end maintain imperialist economic domination of the independent States, influence their politics, and control their military forces and strategy, and at the same time, subvert and overthrow all those governments which are striving to pursue an independent course, to build up their independent economies and assist the struggles of those African peoples as not yet free from imperialist domination and settler rule. Secondly, to maintain **under direct rule** the Portuguese Colonies and Southern Africa, not only in order to stop the tide of liberation in these regions, but to be able to continue their inhuman exploitation of people and resources, but also to use these territories as a bastion of white rule in Africa as a place d'armes, a centre of intrigue and conspiracy, a base for intimidation of the independent African States and a jumping-off ground for aggression, especially against those States which challenge imperialist aims and stand to the fore in helping their brothers who are still fighting to win independence for their countries. Coupled with this goes the economic absorption into the southern imperialist base of the nearest states, such as Lesotho, Botswana, Swaziland and Malawi, which are becoming linked to the whole complex of the apartheid system of South Africa.

Same Common Enemy in Southern Africa

The launching of armed struggle by the ANC-ZAPU alliance and by the liberation fighters of Namibia (South West Africa), together with the struggle waged in the Portuguese Colonies in Africa, is a challenge not only to the existing governments of that region, but a blow against the whole strategy of using Southern Africa as a military, political and economic launching pad against the independent states laying to its North.

For this reason, any help which the independent African States and their peoples give to the liberation fighters is in their own basic interests, in the interests of their own sovereignty, independent development and progress.

There is one common front for all African peoples, those living in independent States and those still battling for their independence - a front of the people against imperialism. Since the struggle is against those monopoly forces which maintain power in the Western world, and exploit the workers in Europe and North America as well as in Africa, it is in the interests of the working people of Europe and North America, too, to join hands with their brothers in Africa who are battling against the same common enemy.

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

Spotlight on the South African Police State

POLICE TERROR

Some Recent Cases of Police Terror, Torture and Brutal, often Blatantly Discriminatory Court Sentences.

Murder 1.

A 23-year-old laboratory assistant, Gert Johannes Strydom, appeared briefly before Mr. J. U. Fourie in the Volksrust Magistrate's Court at a preparatory examination on an allegation of murder. Strydom's appearance is in connection with the death of a 25-year-old African, Mr. Fanyana Samuel Nkosi, who died after he was assaulted.

Mr. Nkosi was assaulted when he was found watching a white wedding at a hall in Volksrust.

No evidence was led and the examination was adjourned. Bail of R50 (£ 25.) was extended for Strydom. The magistrate cancelled a condition of bail that Strydom report to the police station once a week. The Prosecutor, M. W. Lens, said that the condition was not necessary as Strydom was well known in the town.

Murder 2.

Hendrik Gideon Holtzhausen, 18, a constable of the South African Police stationed at Steilloopburg, was committed for trial by Mr. G. J. R. Basson in the Magistrate's Court at Potgietersrus on a charge of murder.

The charge arises from the death of an African man last year in the local hospital after he had allegedly been attacked on the farm "Vier-en-Twintig-Riviere" in the Potgietersrus district earlier the same day.

Torture 1.

Mr. Marks Monokgotla was detained in Rustenburg on a charge of attempting to murder a chieftainess called Caterina. He alleged that he was tortured by the police and an interim order was made by Mr. Justice Theron restraining the police from interviewing Mr. Monokgotla. Mr. Monokgotla claimed in his application that he was treated with an electric machine by police, after he had been bound and blind-folded before being taken from his cell. He was of the opinion that the machine was some sort of electric machine which caused pain. Monokgotla alleged he was assaulted by the police. After he was taken back to the cell, he started making a statement to a Lieutenant van Rensburg. While he was

making the statement, his advocate and attorney arrived and asked to speak to their client. After his counsel, Mr. David Soggot, had spoken to him, he was brought before a Rustenburg magistrate. The charge of attempted murder was withdrawn against him and other Africans. After the charge was withdrawn Monokgotla was rearrested under the Terrorism Act and held in Pretoria.

Mr. Soggot brought an application before Mr. Justice Boshoff asking that the court extend the temporary relief until Monokgotla was released when he could file further affidavits.

Mr. Justice Boshoff ruled that there was no reason to believe that Mr. Monokgotla while he was held under the Terrorism Act in Pretoria would be assaulted or subjected to unlawful pressures by the police.

Postscript: We are investigating the circumstances of Mr. Monokgotla's arrest and detention and will publish a report on receipt of such information - Editor.

Torture 2.

The State has paid R 3,000 (£ 1,500 pre-devaluation) in a settlement out of court towards the costs of a case in which an Ovambo, South West African, detainee held under the Terrorism Act alleged that he had been assaulted by the police.

In terms of an agreement, the State has paid R 3,000 towards the cost of an application made in December for a court order protecting 68-year-old Mr. Bariled Mbindi from being assaulted by the police.

Mr. Mbindi's application alleged that he had been assaulted twice and that he feared further assaults. It said that he was handcuffed to an iron water pipe so that his feet barely touched the ground, he was blind-folded, kicked and beaten. In supporting the application other detainees alleged in affidavits that they had been assaulted including electric shock treatment.

Assault 1.

When 45 African youths were sentenced to be caned for failing to produce their passes on the request of policemen, the reaction of white readers of the RAND DAILY MAIL (Johannesburg) was symptomatic of the utter callousness of the white public in South Africa. In response to a letter signed "Anti-Violence" several people replied with letters similar to the two published below:

'Smack-bottom' system

ANTI-VIOLENCE asks us to see in our minds-eye the caning of 45 youths guilty of a minor offence. Easy, but consider the effects.

Can Anti-Violence visualise 500 Africans lying face down under a scorching sun while 50 policemen, wielding sjamboks, gave each one five of the best on bare buttocks? Offence: failing to bring in 50lbs each of firewood from the forest. The hospital requiring the fuel was never again short. This happened in Tanganyika Territory in 1919: the authority was the British Colonial Office.

Having often been on the receiving end myself when a schoolboy in the Eastern Cape, I am convinced that judicious use of the cane is an excellent means of instilling discipline besides being a deterrent. There were few psychopaths in my young days, no hippies, beatniks, skollies, tsotsis, spoiled brats.

There should be a society formed to bring back the "smacked-bottom treatment". Forty years ago in Nairobi the Governor proposed to abolish corporal punishment whereupon a prominent Roman Catholic missionary, Father Bernhardt of St. Austins French Mission, warned the authorities that failure to use the sjambok would result in having to use the rifle. How right he was! Somehow I don't think those laddies will now forget to carry or produce their reference books. - W. GRAHAM WEDDERBURN

The Alternatives

I hear that some of the parents were in court when 45 youths were sentenced to be caned for failing to produce reference books, but I have not heard that any of the parents lodged an appeal - not against the conviction, but against the sentence.

Perhaps some parents prefer this type of punishment for their children to fines or imprisonment. - ALSO A PARENT

Postscript: Appeals are costly and most Africans who live well below the poverty datum line can ill afford this "luxury" - EDITOR.

Assault 2.

After asking an African why he wore spectacles, two white police constables are alleged to have thrown beer over him, hit him with a kerie wrapped with wire, chased him to his room, smashed down his door, kicked and beaten him inside the police van with handcuffs and later left him lying in a culvert. This evidence was led in Johannesburg Magistrate's Court when Hendrik Jacobus Oppermann, 21, and Phillipus Karel van der Westhuizen, both from Jeppe Police Station, appeared before Mr. H. F. Bosman charged with assault with intent to do grievous bodily harm.

Mr. Klaas Skosana said he was walking down the street with his girl friend and playing his radio when a police van drew up and van der Westhuizen asked why he wore spectacles. When Mr. Skosana said it was because his eyes were bad he was told not to talk nonsense. He said van der Westhuizen threw beer over him. When Mr. Skosana asked van der Westhuizen why he had thrown the beer, van der Westhuizen, who was in Uniform, hit him over

the head with his kierie, which had wire wrapped round it. "When he hit me the second time I grabbed the kierie. Opperman jumped out of the van and kicked me in the stomach. I ran to my room and van der Westhuizen followed me. I locked myself inside, but the door was kicked down."

Mr. Ephraim Duma said he heard a noise and opened his door. A policeman was chasing Mr. Skosana, who was running towards his room. He saw the policeman hitting Mr. Skosana with a kierie wrapped with wire. Mr. Skosana unlocked his door and the constable took out his gun and told Mr. Skosana he was going to shoot him. Mr. Skosana closed the door and the policeman, who Mr. Duma identified as van der Westhuizen, started kicking the door. He was joined by Opperman and the kicked the door down.

Assault 3.

Two policemen were fined when convicted of assaulting 19-year-old Isaac Ndigi. Pieter Wilhelm van der Walt was fined R 80 (£ 40) and Petrus Philippus Myburgh was fined R 30 (£ 15) by Mr. C. J. Zijl in the Durban Magistrate's Court.

The State alleged that the two men had set their police dogs on to Mr. Ngidi, who was severely mauled. They then throttled him, kicked him in the face and hit him over the head with a chain. Mr. van Zijl said van der Walt had told the court 40 lies. Referring to an incident at the Somtseu Road Police Station, where Mr. Ngidi was charged with drinking beer in a public place, Mr. van Zijl said: "I was shocked to hear that a man could be arrested for one offence and then charged with another. The court had been told that Mr. Ngidi had been arrested for drinking "shimiyane" (a home-made brew - Ed.) but had an alternative charge preferred against him because no exhibits were available.

Assault 4.

A witness told a Germiston magistrate that two white policemen and an African labourer brutally assaulted him and then threw him on top of some dogs. The witness, Mr. James Thule, also told the court that at a later stage he was taken into a room and shocked electrically. He could not see what the policemen were doing as they placed a sack over his head. The shock was so great that it rendered him unconscious. Before the court were W. J. Prinsloo, Felix Erasmus and Maplosela Zwane. They are alleged to have punched, kicked, shocked with electricity and thrown three African men to some dogs.

Mr. Thule said he and other Africans were sitting on the stoep at a sewerage farm near Germiston when two of the accused arrived in a car. One searched him and took his shoes. Erasmus pulled him into a garage and hit him with his fist. He then called Maplosela to bring the dogs. Mr. Thule said he was bitten severely about the face and on an arm. He was then taken to a room, suffering from shock. He regained consciousness on the grass outside the house. Mr. Thule said he and some other Africans were then taken to Ellis Park for an identification parade. There a white man said: "These are not the men."

Discrimination 1

Petrus Johannes Dirksen Volschenck, 23, a former detective constable of Umbilo, Durban, who was found guilty by M. Justice A. Kennedy in the Durban and Coast Local Division of raping an African woman, lost his appeal against his conviction and sentence of six years imprisonment.

Three years of the sentence was suspended for two years on condition that during that period he was not convicted of any crime involving a sexual assault. Sentences for rape by non-whites on whites usually carry the death sentence. According to

evidence Volschenck was on stand-by duty where the woman lived with other Africans on premises which had been the subject of several housebreakings and theft. Consequently the police had been called on several occasions and made several raids looking for illegal trespassers.

Discrimination 2

A Coloured boy of 11 years was sentenced to three cuts with a light cane by a magistrate in Caledon. The boy was one of three people convicted of housebreaking. His participation in the crime consisted of reconnoitring the scene of the crime and then keeping watch while the others broke into the room. The boy had no previous convictions.

Less Crime, More Death Sentences

While there was a general upward trend in the number of cases dealt with in the Supreme Court, Pretoria, in 1968 compared with 1967, the number of actual criminal trials dropped from 580 in 1967 to 545 in 1968.

On the other hand the death sentence was imposed in 119 cases in 1968 compared with 101 in 1967. None of these cases, either in 1967 or 1968, was heard by a jury.

Half the World's Executions in South Africa

Statistics which show that South Africa accounts for nearly half the world's legal executions suggest that "an exhaustive inquiry into this form of punishment is long overdue," says Dr. B. van D. van Niekerk, senior lecturer in law at the University of the Witwatersrand.

"Among the strangest of all facts surrounding the death penalty is that its desirability is not at all a question of debate and investigation in the country where it is applied with the greatest frequency in the world."

Victims of police action



WHAT OTHERS SAY

On the Southern African Revolution

WE SHALL HEAR THE DRUMS OF VICTORY

Romesh Chandra, Secretary General of the World Council of Peace



The battles for liberation have entered a new, a higher stage. The solidarity movement with the liberation struggle must enter a correspondingly new, a higher stage.

There is only one key, only one key, to open the door to a new and higher stage. And that key is – the unity of all forces in all countries who seek an end to the oppressive colonialist and racist regimes. You cannot buy this key in the market places – you have to fashion it yourselves – out of the blood of martyrs, out of the tears of the tormented, out of the memories of the brave who gave their lives for freedom, out of the confidence in man, that this is the era of liberation, that this is the century of the doom of imperialism.

Recently, a leading newspaper in London called the Khartoum Conference "a summit of terrorists". We know what the gentlemen who serve imperialism and reaction wish to imply by the word "terrorists". They sought to depict this Conference as a gathering of small adventurous groups and hide the reality that this was an Assembly of representatives of movements of the peoples, having the widest support among millions and hundreds of millions.

The little men who would like to call this Conference a "terrorist summit" may, however, have, in their efforts to attack us, struck by accident on a word which reflects the reality of their own fears. Yes, the imperialists are struck by terror, at the knowledge that the Conference will help to build the force of united international mobilisation in solidarity with the liberation movement. The imperialists are struck by terror at the knowledge that Khartoum was not a gathering of word makers, that it was an assembly of men of action to plan action.

In Southern Africa, the liberation movements have entered the period of armed struggle. This is the reality. The imperialist press and news agencies are blacking out news of this great struggle which defends the people of the Portuguese colonies and Southern Africa against the bestial and barbaric repression of the colonialist and racist regimes. The imperialist press blacks out the truth about the liberated areas in the Portuguese colonies and about the truly remarkable achievements of the liberation movements in these areas.

The Khartoum Conference was planned to break through this blackout and give the widest information on the present phase of the struggle and on the liberated areas, to the people of all continents. The World Council of Peace is proud that it was able to help make known the facts of the Vietnamese people's struggle at a time when they were less known than today. We shall, we believe, be able to contribute also to the campaign of information on Southern Africa and the Portuguese colonies.

The World Council of Peace sees the Khartoum Conference, not as a culmination of our efforts and of the solidarity movement but rather as a **beginning** of the continuous, ever-growing, united movement of the peoples.

International mobilisation is a continuous process and the acceleration which the solidarity movements have received in Khartoum must be carried forward in an organised way assuring the continued co-operation of all the numerous and diverse forces represented at this Conference, and among those who support the Conference but could not take part in it.

The struggle of the liberation movements in the Portuguese colonies and Southern Africa is part of the mighty sweep of the movement for national independence and peace. It is the same battle which is being waged by the heroic Vietnamese people who have written chapters of gold into the saga of the courage and valour of mankind.

The struggle of the peoples of the Portuguese colonies and Southern Africa is directed towards the same goal as that of the Arab peoples, battling to liquidate the consequences of the Israeli aggression, the same goal as that of the world-wide battles against neo-colonialism, the same goals of those of all men who fight for peace, for national independence, for justice, equality and progress. In the coming days, many organisations, international and national, are joining hands to prepare for a world assembly of peoples – to discuss all the urgent problems of peace and independence.

This is a moment in history, when all who cherish peace and independence must join hands to defeat the conspiracies of the imperialist powers in every corner of the globe. Desperate because of the mounting victories of the forces of peace and liberation, the imperialists are resorting to ever more savage attacks on the peace of the world, on the independence of peoples. The World Peace Assembly which meets in June in Berlin will be the united peoples' answer to the imperialist offensive. It, too, will be a mobilisation conference, a conference of action, as was the Khartoum Conference.

We stretch out our hands to our brothers of the liberation movements and pledge ourselves not to rest until the day of victory and freedom.

That that day is not far, is proved by the unity shown at the Khartoum Conference. Our decisions, practical and effective, shall assuredly bring that day nearer.

We shall carry forward the work of those who have given their lives for freedom. We shall break the doors of the fascist dungeons. We shall, oh yes, we shall, hear the drums of victory . . . soon.

YOU ARE OUR COMRADES-IN-ARMS

Dr. Hartmut Schilling, German-Africa Society: GERMAN DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC

We, the citizens of the GDR, support the demand of the peoples of Southern Africa and the Portuguese colonies for full freedom and democracy with all our energy and will continue to do so in the future. Solidarity and internationalism are basic principles of our social life and our socialist state. We feel a right to represent this viewpoint all the more forcefully, since we ourselves stand at a focal point of the anti-imperialist struggle, in a land whose borders are exposed to the pressure of a great military concentration of the imperialist forces, a land that is the target of increasing political, economic and ideological attacks of the most aggressive circles of imperialism.

The GDR, which is now preparing for its 20th anniversary as the first German state dedicated to peace, therefore, seeks itself political solidarity and active support by the progressive forces of all peoples and their governments in the struggle against imperialism, for European security, and against the aggressive claim of the Bonn government to be the sole representative of the German people.

We never forget, when we fight for this viewpoint, that it is, after all, German imperialism, the government and monopolies of the West German Federal Republic, which have formed an especially close political, nuclear-military and economic alliance with Vorster, Smith and Salazar. An alliance that dates back to the traditions, ideological sources and political practices of Hitler fascism, and is pushed forward and perfected by Hitler's successors.

That is why we consider as our comrades-in-arms, allies

and friends all those who fight for the liberation of Africa from the last colonial-fascist oppressors. Our struggle is a common struggle, in which we give each other mutual support.

The forms of our solidarity with the African liberation movement are many and varied. They include the successful accomplishment of our specific political responsibility in the battle against imperialism and revanchism, full consolidation of the GDR, as a stable factor for peace in Europe, and equally, the training of cadres for the liberation movements. They include numerous activities for the political and material strengthening of the organisations fighting heroically for the liberation of their homelands; numerous activities to inform our own people of the crimes committed by the colonialists and the racist regimes; and support by exposing the conspiracies of one of the most important imperialist powers, the West German Federal Republic, with Vorster, Smith and Caetano – and much more.

The liberation of the whole of the African continent – can only be attained through the joint efforts of all anti-imperialist forces. It can only be attained if we develop a movement of solidarity with the fighting peoples of the Portuguese colonies, South Africa, Namibia and Zimbabwe as powerful as we have developed solidarity for Vietnam, which has helped the heroic struggle of the Vietnamese people to win decisive victories over the American aggressors. We are working for that and will continue to do so in the future.

INDIA IS WITH YOU!

Hon. Mr. R. K. Khadilkar,
Deputy Speaker of Indian Parliament INDIA

We the people of India have watched with great interest, admiration and hope the emergence of Africa into freedom in the wake of our own freedom. Our own struggle for independence has always remained a part of the world struggle against colonial domination. Mahatma Gandhi, who championed human rights not only for Indians but for all human beings, at an early age raised the banner of revolt in South Africa against white domination and racial discrimination. As far back as 1927 the late Prime Minister Nehru, when he participated in a historic gathering of a similar nature in Brussels – the League Against Imperialism – declared that the struggle for Indian freedom was part of the world-wide anti-imperialist struggle. More recently, while in session the Indian Parliament spontaneously expressed its sense of horror and shock when the news of impending executions of the freedom fighters in Zimbabwe was received.

After the achievement of her own freedom, India continued to advocate and support the cause of colonial freedom whenever the issues could be raised on the United Nations

platform and has worked in other forms for the solidarity of the Afro-Asian countries. In this effort our endeavour has been to promote unity and bring about a spirit of mutual understanding, and we have urged that Afro-Asian countries should not become entangled with military power blocs.

India has never reconciled itself to the position of racial domination and fascist repression in any part of the world, and it has forewarned the so-called civilised nations that if they fail to withdraw their support given to the Portuguese government and Southern Africa, either directly or indirectly, the time may not be far off when they would be faced with a type of a racial war of frightening proportions.

The African National Congress of South Africa has established a Mission India, the first of its kind in Asia, which is receiving full support from all sections of the Indian people. Let us hope it will not be too long before a Mission of the liberation movement in the Portuguese colonies will be established in India.

Let me take this opportunity of reassuring – if reassurance is at all called for – that the people of India remain solidly behind the struggle for liberation of the Portuguese colonies and Southern Africa, convinced that their invincible courage and immense sacrifice will soon be crowned with success. The people of the newly independent countries have always considered that their freedom would remain incomplete so long as any part of Asia and Africa remains under colonial domination. Freedom, like peace, is indivisible; and we declare that we shall continue to strive to overcome barriers of class, race and traditional conflict, so as to usher in an era of human dignity and universal freedom.

MINERS SUPPORT A.N.C.

The 5th International Conference of Miners, held in Berlin in December unanimously resolved to support the African National Congress and the liberation struggle in South Africa.

The full text of the resolution states: —

1. The 5th International Conference of Mineworkers calls upon all mineworkers to declare their solidarity with the liberation struggle in South Africa, led by the African National Congress of South Africa.

a. by supporting morally and materially the miners and South African peoples in their liberation struggle and by raising solidarity donations to support Umkhonto we Sizwe the military wing of the African National Congress.

b. by informing themselves as thoroughly as possible on the conditions of mineworkers in particular and other workers in general in the Republic of South Africa.

c. by bringing pressure to bear on their respective governments to break off all relations with the South African racist regime.

d. by doing everything possible to prevent the recruiting of immigrants from West European countries for employment in the South African mining industry.

2. The 5th International Conference of Mineworkers draws the attention of the government of Malawi, Lesotho and Botswana to the inhuman conditions suffered by citizens of these countries in the South African mines. The Conference urges the governments of Malawi, Lesotho and Botswana not to bolster up the slave and cheap labour policy of the South African Mining Industry by allowing citizens of their countries to be recruited for labour in the South African mines. Wherever such workers are employed in the South African Mining Industry this conference urges the governments of Malawi, Lesotho and Botswana to insist that they do not become victims of the indignities of apartheid, that they enjoy trade union rights and that their wages and other working conditions be in accordance with internationally accepted standards and that they are not subjected to racial discrimination or other disadvantages.

3. The 5th International Conference of Mineworkers draws the attention of the United Nations Special Commission on Apartheid and the International Labour Organisation to the working conditions of the African workers in the South African Mining Industry and requests both these bodies to take these conditions into account in their investigations and reports.

Arnold Selby —
SACTU Delegate
addressing the
Miners' Conference
in Berlin.



SOUTH AFRICA'S ROCKET PROGRAMME

South Africa launched its first guided missile from St. Lucia test grounds on December 17th. It was released by War Minister Botha and descended into Lake St. Lucia ten seconds later.

The St. Lucia test grounds were taken into operation only recently. It transpired from statements made by Pieter Botha South African Minister of Defence that a West German rocket and aircraft Trust are helping the apartheid regime to implement its armament programme. This West German participation was defined in a secret agreement on military and atomic co-operation signed by Bonn and Pretoria in 1961.

The foreign experts who have for several years been working at the South African Institute for Rocket Research are staff members of the West German Boelkow Aircraft and Rocket Trust and of the West German Siemens and AEG-Telefunken firms.

Before the operation of the large testing ground was announced in early November, South Africa had concentrated her rocket research in Tsumeb in Namibia (South West Africa). The co-directors of the Ionosphere and Rocket station in Tsumeb were Dr. Theo Schumann, a South African expert, and Professor Wolfgang Die-miger, a West German rocket specialist who during the nazi period was working at the military rocket testing station at Rechlin from 1934 to 1943.

Hitler's Rocket Expert

In April 1967 Hitler's rocket expert Prof. Hermann Oberth who today is a member of the West German neo-nazi NPD party, went to South Africa to study the work on the Harp-3 rocket.

One month before this Prof. Albert Norden had declared on behalf of the German Democratic Republic that "the Harp-1 and Harp-3 multi-stage atomic rockets produced in South Africa are the first results of the 1961 nuclear arms plot between Bonn and Pretoria".

The President of the South African Atomic Energy Board, Roux, visited West Germany for talks on atomic and military co-operation in September 1968. Under this co-operation West Germany purchases South African uranium concentrates. The bulk is stored by West Germany in South Africa or is being used there and then for military research.

"A South African rocket umbrella would for a long period amount to military superiority of the entire white-controlled areas in Southern Africa," the West German big business paper Handelsblatt wrote prior to the latest test.

Done Illegally

The West German Campaign for Disarmament and Democracy in its bulletin pointed out in July that there existed three ways for the West German Government to obtain nuclear weapons of their own, as they had to pledge at the end of the last war not to produce them in their own country:

- (1) West German production in a foreign country;
- (2) production together with other countries;
- (3) the purchase of bombs.

"These three ways were being advocated by Franz-Josef Strauss, West German's ex-Defence Minister and present Finance Minister." The bulletin said "if Bonn signs the non-proliferation treaty further atomic armament — as once before (after World War One) equipment of the 'Reichswehr' with banned weapons — could be done only illegally. If they do not sign, the road to South Africa is open. Strauss would achieve his aim in both cases."

THE FACTS IN BLACK & WHITE



4. DISCRIMINATION AGAINST CHILDREN

In a previous article we saw that the South African government provides, on a totally discriminatory basis, pensions for its old, its blind and its disabled – people who cannot look after themselves because of their handicaps. It was clear that government policy is to maintain a strict ratio between the income of whites, of Coloureds and Asians, and of Africans. Whites, as a privileged group can expect pensions of at least five times those paid to Africans.

Another group which becomes the responsibility of the state consists of children – orphans, children whose parents cannot care for them, or control them, or who may neglect them.

Legally, in South Africa, a child 'in need of care' is one who, if under the age of 18 years, is abandoned, or without visible means of support, has no parent or guardian, or a parent or guardian who does not or is unfit to exercise control, who is a habitual truant, begs, or is in a state of physical or mental neglect. (1)

In deciding the child's future, the matter of its race takes precedence over what may be in its best interests. The Act specifically states that no child shall be placed in the custody of a person whose classification according to the Population Registration Act, 1950, is not the same as that of the child, except where such person is the parent or guardian of the child. (2)

In a rural area in the Transvaal, a Coloured mother and her 11 year old daughter, walking across the fields, came upon an abandoned African baby. They took it home, cared for it, cherished it, and 'loved it as if he were our own'. But they lived in dread of the knock on the door, the arrival of the 'authorities' and the removal of the child. After seven months, they were discovered and told to give up the child, not because they were not caring properly for it, but because its race was not the same as theirs. It would have to be deported to the nearest Bantustan, if a relative could be traced, or placed in an institution. With tears streaming down her

face, the mother exclaimed: 'How can we fight this law. We would do anything to keep him' (3)

Foster Care:

The needs of babies are simple & uniform. They require milk, good food, clothes, shelter, care. Their material needs cost the same whether they be black or white, but the allowances paid to the foster mothers depend, not on the child's needs, but on her race. The black baby must learn early to live on less milk than does his white brother.

Allowances for foster mothers, in rand, per month, per child:

| | |
|----------|-----------|
| African | 4.25 |
| Asian | 9.00 |
| Coloured | 9.00 |
| White | 18.00 (4) |

For physically disabled or mentally retarded children, the state pays R10.50 per month to Coloured foster mothers, and R20 to white.

In his budget speech in March, 1968, the Minister announced that allowances for white children in foster care would be increased to R20 per month per normal child, and R24 for handicapped children. 'Adjustments' would be made for other races, he said. (5)

According to the departments of Coloured and of Indian Affairs, the adjustments will amount to an extra R1 per month. The Minister of Bantu Development could not say what the 'adjustment' would amount to in respect of African children, but we can be sure that it will be strictly in proportion to that given to whites, and the gap will in no way be narrowed.

Government policy towards African children is one of the meanest cheeseparings: not only is the allowance for them least of all, but foster mothers in towns get even less than those in cities, and those in rural areas get nothing at all. There is nothing extra if the child is handicapped and need constant care: increases for the white foster mothers – voters – are announced with the budget, made public, paid shortly afterwards. No one knows what increase the African mother will get, or when, or who will check up if she does not get it.

In 1968 there were 2,044 African, 894 Asian, 7,843 Coloured and 3,951 white children in foster care.

Institutions

In the same year, there were 1137 African, 169 (committed) Indian, 3,940 Coloured and 5,807 white children in institutions. The subsidies paid by the government to the institutions in 1967, were:

R59.40 per annum per African child (about R4.12 per month) R9 per month for Coloured and Asian children, and R17 per month for each white child, that is, double the amount for Asians and Coloured and four times as much as for African children.

Maintenance Grants

These are payable where the breadwinner is incapacitated or confined to a state institution, such as a hospital, mental home or prison.

Since the disbursements have been taken over from the Social Welfare Department and given to the departments of Coloured Affairs, and Bantu Affairs, the amounts have not been published in their annual reports. The latest figures obtainable refer to 1964: (6)

White families – R12 per month for each parent, R6 per

month for the first two children each, and R4 per month for each of the subsequent children

Coloured families – exactly half the amounts for whites.

Asians – R5 per month for each parent, R2.50 for each of the first two children, and R1.50 for each subsequent child.

Africans – R2 per month for each parent, R1.25 for each of the first two children, and 75c for each of the next two children.

The racial discrimination in Maintenance grants is even more gross than is allowance for foster mothers.

For whites the rate is much the highest; the same rate applies whether the family lives in city or rural area; an allowance is paid for each child no matter how many there are; for every child in secondary school an extra R4 per month is paid, and R2 for a child in primary school.

The small grant paid to Africans in the cities is reduced still further for those in towns, and it is not paid, if the children can be deported to the rural areas to relatives. In rural areas there is no grant at all, so the problem is solved! The maximum grant in 1967 per family was R8.50 per month, with R4 allowed for private income. The family must live on R12.50; the Dietetics and Home Economics Section of the Department of Agricultural Technical Services estimates that a family of 6 should spend a minimum of R11.62 per month on food alone (7). There are no extra amounts paid for children in school. And while the state grudgingly pays 75 c per third & fourth child – the price of a couple of paper bags of peanuts – per month, it shows its disapproval of Africans having large families by not paying anything for children subsequent to the 4th.

Family Allowance

There is not space here to deal with family allowances, introduced in 1947 obviously to enable a 'poor white' type of family, whose breadwinner is capable of earning only a very small wage, to maintain a higher standard of living than their Coloured neighbour. The rate of allowance for Coloured families was exactly half that of White families. Allowances for Asians were withdrawn after 2 years, in 1949. While allowances for African families were never even contemplated because "it would be practically impossible to single out families and to determine ages and income" (8). The pattern for family allowances thus runs true to type. As is to be expected in a country where race dominates every sphere of life, the state cares for the 'child in need of care' provided his parents are white: in respect of African children the state policy can be summed up in the oft quoted couplet:

"Thou shalt not kill, but needst not strive, officially to keep alive."

References:

1. Children's Act, No 33 of 1960.
2. Children's Act Amendment Act, No 50 of 1965.
3. Cape Times, 23. 10. 1963.
4. House of Assembly Debates: 24. 4. 1968, 28. 5. 1968, 27. 3. 1968.
5. Debates: 27. 3. 1968.
6. S.A. Institute of Race Relations – Fact Paper No 15, 1964,
7. S.A. Institute of Race Relations Survey, 1967, p. 107.
8. Annual Report of Social Welfare Dept. R.P.58 of 1962, p. 45.

Note: R2.00 = 2.8 dollars = 1.2 pounds approximately

ISRAEL VIOLATES LAW OF WAR

Abridged Text of a Resolution Adopted Unanimously by Representatives of 74 Countries and 15 International Organisations on the Challenge to the U.N. Charter and International Law Constituted by the Israeli Aggression, adopted at the 2nd International Conference in Support of the Arab Peoples, held in Cairo 25–28 January 1969.

The aggressive character of the Israeli attack of June 1967

On 5th June, 1967, Israel launched an attack against the U.A.R., the Gaza territory, Syria and Jordan.

This constituted a violation of international law, of the charter of the U.N. and the armistice agreements and could never be justified by Israeli arguments. Indeed, without dwelling here for too long on the reports spread by Israel of an Arab attack on her, the falsity of which was exposed in the following days.

Art. 51 of the Charter does not justify the exercise of the right of legitimate self-defence invoked by a State unless the latter has been the object of an armed aggression. It is obvious that neither the demand for the withdrawal of the United Nations Emergency Force (UNEF), nor the blocking of the Gulf of Akaba can be termed an aggression. In effect, the Egyptian demand advanced on May 23, 1967 for the withdrawal of the UNEF stationed on Egyptian territory which had been inspired by the desire to liquidate the last consequences of the Israeli aggression of 1956 and was perfectly legal in view of the fact that the stationing of these forces was expressly conditional on the consent of the sovereign power in the territory. Israel which has always refused to station U.N. troops on her side of the armistice lines could perfectly well have invited the U.N. troops to cross over those armistice lines if she had genuinely felt that she was threatened. Elsewhere, the conflict between Israel and the U.A.R., on the question of the passage of Israeli ships through the straits of Tiran and the Gulf of Akaba was only a juridical dispute the solution of which was to be found in the procedures for peaceful settlement provided for by Art. 33 of the Charter. Furthermore, the U.N. was already in receipt of a formal complaint lodged by Israel against the U.A.R.

It follows therefore from the above that the war launched by Israel on June 5, 1967 against the Arab States was not an act of legitimate self-defence but presented all the basic elements of an unrestricted aggression.

Violations by Israel of the Laws of War and the Resulting Obligations arising from the Occupation Statute: the Trends towards Annexation

a) Without reverting to previous events, it becomes apparent from the ample and impartial evidence available that the Israeli authorities have during and since the six day war, violated and are still violating a great number of the rules and conventions governing humanitarian conduct. In particular it has been established that:

1. deliberate assaults have been made on the civilian populations: – bombings, sometimes with napalm, of towns, villages, refugee camps, mosques, churches, schools ambulances and hospitals; Blowing up of villages (Emmaus, Beit Nouba, Youlo, Beit Mersin, Beit Awa and Kafr Hareb); Forced transfer of populations, taking of hostages, round-ups, torture of civilians as well as other forms of humiliating and degrading treatment.

2. Use of weapons that cause needless suffering (napalm) in violation of the principles of general international law and various conventions.

b) Elsewhere, Israel is violating in a deliberate manner the obligations incumbent on her by virtue of international law in the territories she has occupied as a consequence of

her aggression; especially those arising from the Hague Convention of October 18, 1907 and the Geneva Convention of August 12, 1949 on the protection of civilians in times of war (in particular Section III). Without reverting to the violations listed in the previous paragraph, it is necessary here to emphasise the fact that the Israeli Occupation is progressively modifying the previous institutional structure of the occupied territories, in contravention of the rules of the law of war in respect to military occupation.

Israel has first of all extended by unilateral decision the application of her domestic law to the Arab part of Jerusalem and proceeded to annex it.

Israel has also fundamentally modified the structure, judicial, administrative and educational on the Western bank of Jordan and is installing colonies of permanent settlers in the occupied Arab territories.

Moreover, Israel has encouraged the expulsion of the Arab Population and refuses the unconditional return of refugees and displaced persons.

Conclusions: The national rights of the Arab People of Palestine including their right to self determination and resistance, U.N. sanctions and the role of public opinion.

It is permissible to conclude that a real challenge has been flung by Israeli aggression at international law and the Charter of the U.N.

The fundamental aims of the U.N. are, together with the maintenance of international peace and security, the respect of the principle of the equality of the rights of peoples and their right to self-determination. The Arab people of Palestine have the same rights as other peoples. The right of the Arab people of Palestine to armed and non-armed resistance in the face of aggression and annexation constitutes under the present circumstances one of the essential guarantees of the principle of self-determination.

The Israeli policy of conquest and domination that has been expressed by their refusal to abide by the U.N. decisions and recommendations was confirmed in a particularly significant way by the Israeli government's rejection of the Security Council's resolution providing for the evacuation of territories occupied in June 1967. The challenge thrown at the U.N. would seem to justify the Security Council in resorting to the use of all means available to it, including sanctions provided for in this respect by Chapter VII of the Charter, if it is to inspire the confidence of the peoples and particularly the victims of aggression and if it is to fulfill its mission efficiently.

Israeli authorities carry on their aggressive action in pursuance of a so-called right of pursuit and reprisal that has no place in contemporary international law and which has been condemned, several times over, by international instances. The recent attack on the Beirut airport, devoid of any de facto and de jure justification, has stressed the danger of these enterprises to peace.

By supporting the Arab peoples of Palestine and all other Arab peoples who are the victims of Israeli aggression, the forces of peace and progress would contribute to the effective implementation of the principles set forth above and would help the cause of peace in the Middle East and in the world.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

INSPIRED

Dear Friend,
I enclose herewith 15/-d. Postal Order to renew my subscription to your splendid magazine. My subscription is not due till 18th April, but, although an old age pensioner, I subscribe to various worthy causes each year about this time, so I am sending to Sechaba now in case I forget. (Not really likely, for who, with even one spark of decency in him could ever forget those pictures of young ZAPU/ANC freedom fighters which you publish!)

In saying thank you for the wonderful job you are doing, may I mention an aspect of your work which you may overlook - ie., that you not only give use information, you also give us **inspiration** in our fight against our common enemy.

More power to your elbow!

R.T. (Bob) Ferguson
45 Frobisher Road,
London N.8.

SOLIDARITY

Dear Sir,
I am enclosing a cheque for a year's subscription to SECHABA and for the special SECHABA publication "The Southern African Revolution."

I offer you my warmest revolutionary solidarity.

Sincerely yours,

Jim Fox,
8 Palgrave Crescent,
Brampton, Ontario,
Canada.

SPANISH EDITION

Gentlemen!
We hope that in the near future you will be able to publish your magazines in Spanish language, because in that language it will undoubtedly have a massive acceptance among Mexican readers.

We also hope that 1969 will be a year of even greater triumphs in the struggle against all forms of colonialism and imperialism.

Wishing you a very prosperous and happy new year - we remain,
Yours very truly,

Lola Vidrio,
Libreria Fomento Cultural,
P. Sanchez 325 Guadalajara,
Jal-Mexico.

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Dear Comrades,
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to be sold here at 2/- per copy as we are intensifying our propaganda campaign.

If you have any copies of SECHABA No. 9 Sept. 1968, No. 10 Oct. 1968, and March 1968 Vol. 2 No. 3 left, please send them **immediately** as they contain articles about the Portuguese colonies. At present, we have started a political offensive in support of liberation movements there - we are collecting money and medicaments.

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With revolutionary greetings,

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Yours faithfully,

L. P. Cole,
Prime Minister's Office,
Tower Hill,
Freetown,
Sierra Leone.

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Dear Comrade,

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This being the case I would be grateful if you can send me your latest publications, and if necessary inform me of the amount I should subscribe from now on. This I think will keep me in touch with current developments.

Long live the struggle against imperialism, colonialism and neo-colonialism. Down with apartheid, discrimination, white supremacy in all its forms. Long live the ideas of peace, freedom and socialism.

Yours,

Samba Fye,
The Gambia National Youth Council,
Tärna Folkhögskola,
Tärna 73074,
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