

Sechaboa



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of the African National Congress
of South Africa

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**CHIEF
LUTULI**

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MESSAGES FROM SOUTHERN AFRICA

JUNE 26



ANGOLA

from Comrade Chipenda of
M.P.L.A.:

"In the name of the Central Committee of M.P.L.A. I would like to convey our fraternal greetings and support for the people of South Africa on the occasion of June 26. M.P.L.A. fully supports the African National Congress and the people of South Africa in their struggle. June 26 is a day for all the militants of Southern Africa to pledge themselves to the struggle for the liberation of their people. M.P.L.A. wishes the people of South Africa every success in their struggle against colonialism, imperialism and neo-colonialism."



ZIMBABWE

from Francis Newhati, Dar es
Salaam representative, ZAPU:

"On behalf of our beloved President Joshua Nkomo, and on behalf of ZAPU and the peoples of Zimbabwe, I greet the African National Congress and assure you of the solidarity of the people of Zimbabwe with the oppressed people of South Africa. The conditions of oppression in South Africa are the same as those we suffer in Zimbabwe. Our problems are therefore the same. We have a common enemy and we shall defeat them together in unity. Long live the friendship and solidarity between the people of Zimbabwe and South Africa!"



MOZAMBIQUE

from M. dos Santos, Foreign Affairs
Secretary, FRELIMO:

"On the occasion of June 26, the central committee of FRELIMO conveys to the people of South Africa and the African National Congress warm fraternal greetings and pledges of renewed solidarity with them in our common struggle."



SOUTH WEST AFRICA

from Peter Katjavivi, Deputy Repre-
sentative of SWAPO:

"Fraternal greetings comrades! For many years now June 26 has been commemorated, and each year we have been reminded of our duty to overthrow our common enemy — the fascist government in Pretoria. We of SWAPO have already launched armed struggle and our fervent wish is for the maintenance of the closest contact between ourselves and the A.N.C. Long live the solidarity between SWAPO and the ANC! Long live the African Revolution!"

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SOUTH AFRICA FREEDOM DAY

A Call to all Revolutionary Forces to Rally Behind the Struggle against Fascist Tyranny in South Africa

by O. R. Tambo

Deputy-President of the African National Congress of South Africa



Photo: O.R. Tambo, Deputy-President of the African National Congress, with Chief Lutuli, the President-General, in ANC volunteer's uniform. Behind them, wearing a beret, is Moses Mabhida, the South African trade union leader.

Once more this year we call upon the people of Africa and the world to commemorate JUNE 26, the National Day of the oppressed and struggling people of South Africa: a day observed by the liberation forces under the leadership of the African National Congress as an occasion for re-dedication to the revolutionary struggle to wipe away the scourge of racialism, fascist tyranny and imperialism.

JUNE 26, a symbol of the unshakeable determination of the African people and their allies to seize power and banish oppression and exploitation, has its roots in the history of the long struggle of our people against the violent and brutal repression of white minority rule. It is day of the oppressed that was born in the crucible of bitter and fierce resistance.

DAY OF REDEDICATION

JUNE 26 is a day of re-dedication to the sacred cause of liberating our motherland. On this day our people solemnly pledge themselves to avenge the martyred heroes who gave their lives to redeem the national independence and human dignity of the African, and the gallant sons and daughters of our land who with unsurpassed courage and selflessness have endured persecution and torture at the hands of ruthless racists.

On JUNE 26 hundreds of thousands of our people, led by the African National Congress, embarked on militant mass actions which shook the citadel of white tyranny and forced a frightened fascist minority to take cover behind batons, bullets and military tanks. But the flames of revolutionary struggle and the ardour of resistance have grown bigger and stronger with every new instrument of force and violence produced and used against the people by the enemies of freedom, peace and harmony in our country.

June 26 is our people's unchallengeable assertion that South Africa shall be free.

HISTORY OF MASSACRES

To understand the value and significance of JUNE 26 and appreciate its meaning to millions of oppressed Africans in South Africa, it is necessary to recall that the history of white rule in South Africa is a history of rule by force, violence and massacres.

There was shooting and killing of Africans during the 1919 Anti-Pass campaign, during the strike by 80,000 Rand African Miners and the Port Elizabeth African Workers Strike in 1920. In 1921 the notorious Bulhoek massacre took place when 163 Africans were killed and 130 wounded. The Bondelswarts massacre of 1922 saw 100 people shot dead and hundreds wounded. People were killed during the Durban beer boycott in 1929, and at Potchefstroom and Durban during the 1930 Anti-Pass Campaign. There were killings at Worcester in 1930, Vereeniging in 1938, and during the Rand African Miners' Strike in 1946.

White fascist terror took the reigns of government in 1948 and an era of intensified tyranny and brutal repression started. The introduction of the Unlawful Organizations Bill (later re-named the 'Suppression of Communism' Act), was followed by the shooting down of 18 Africans during May Day demonstrations in Johannesburg on 1 May 1950.

COUNTRY-WIDE STOPPAGE

In the same year the African National Congress called on the African and all other oppressed people and democrats of South Africa to join in unity and solidarity on JUNE 26 in a national stoppage of work — which, for the African, was an act of mass defiance of the law — to honour the victims



A section of the huge crowd that braved the rain at Curries Fountain, Durban, to hear Congress speakers on June 26, 1961.

of decades of white violence and massacres and to assert their resolve to pursue the struggle for freedom despite brutal repression.

In their hundreds of thousands, the people responded to the call and thus JUNE 26 came to be accepted and recognised as our NATIONAL DAY, symbolising the nature and objectives of our struggle for FREEDOM, and providing the occasion for RE-DEDICATION to its noble cause.

There are many milestones along the path of struggle that followed JUNE 26 1950 — a path strewn with the bodies of our martyred and maimed compatriots. A few of these milestones are here recalled.

In 1952, determined to wage relentless resistance against fascist rule, the A.N.C. acting in close co-operation with the South African Indian Congress galvanised the masses into defiance of apartheid legislation, when, from June 26 to December, more than 8,500 freedom-fighters defied the unjust and inhuman laws of South Africa and served jail sentences.

This was the finest hour in the development of national political awareness among our people. It brought panic and consternation to the white oppressors and their imperialist allies, and resulted in a spate of draconian legislation designed to contain the revolutionary upsurge of the people.

FREEDOM CHARTER ADOPTED

But three years later, on 26 June 1955, a heroic and epoch making CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE was convened in the face of fierce intimidation and victimization by the racist Government and its police force. From every corner of South Africa delegates and representatives of the people assembled at Kliptown, Johannesburg; and despite harassment and constant provocation by hundreds of heavily armed police, they drew up a Freedom Charter, which was a blue-print of the political, economic and social structure that the people of South Africa demanded.

The Freedom Charter, adopted on JUNE 26 and acclaimed by freedom-loving people throughout the world as a historic document, became the basis of a charge of High Treason against 156 leaders of the liberation movement arrested in 1956; some of these stood trial for nearly 5 years.

In anger the people rose in militant mass action to assert the demands of the Freedom Charter. The political struggle raged more fiercely and June 26 assumed an ever-increasing significance for the South African people.

A SHINING THREAD

It will be seen that in the struggles launched on JUNE 26, there is a shining thread which speaks of a determination to win, of dedication to a national cause and to the principle of unity among the ranks of the oppressed. Peace and freedom cannot be achieved unless they flow from a relentless struggle based on a revolutionary programme. The Freedom Charter is a programme which bewildered the oppressors and exploiters. It compelled them to seek and use, from the ranks of the oppressed people, those selfish and treacherous elements who are concerned only with their personal welfare.

Notwithstanding these imperialist tactics, JUNE 26 has grown into an international Day of Solidarity with the cause of the oppressed people of South Africa. It has been adopted and is observed by the workers and peoples of Africa, Asia and Latin America, by opponents of racism and white minority rule, and by progressives and democrats, comprising millions of people in many parts of the world. International and other organizations — political, cultural, social — and stu-

dents' movements have demonstrated their support for the cause of freedom in South Africa by calling on their supporters to observe JUNE 26.

ARMED STRUGGLES

This year, JUNE 26 is of special significance for all opponents of colonialism and white minority rule in Southern Africa. In Mozambique, the allies of fascist South Africa are suffering serious reverses from FRELIMO forces. In Angola, the Portuguese are straining their resources to hold the march of the MPLA militants. The Ian Smith regime, despite the British Government's guarantees against the use of force, is in the throes of a rising armed struggle. SWAPO forces have entered South West Africa and drawn blood from the South African racists.

The African revolution has rolled down to South Africa's doorstep. It cannot be too long before the flames of freedom sweep in to consume the evil forces that have plagued our country for centuries.

Certainly, our struggle will be hard and bitter. But certainly also, the sands of time are running out for the racists and oppressors, and each year JUNE 26 heralds the approaching hour of reckoning. To hasten that hour, the ANC summons any who have strayed away from the path of revolution to return to the fold. We call upon all our people in and outside South Africa and on all our friends and supporters throughout the world to rally behind the struggle for liberation led by the African National Congress in South Africa. That is the Call of June 26.

African National Congress Volunteers leading a June 26 demonstration through a South African township.



**WE TAKE ARMS FOR
FREEDOM IN OUR LIFETIME!**

How the demands enshrined in the Freedom Charter were drawn up and adopted at the Congress of the People on June 26 1955



The time comes for every radical movement when to talk of "freedom" is not enough. One has to paint a picture of it, give it substance, fill in the details.

We reached that moment in South Africa in 1955. Since the first world war there had been talk of "freedom" and of "liberation." It had remained a vague promise somewhere over the horizon, a glow in the sky, nothing more. But now we felt the time was coming. Our movement was advancing at a rate undreamt-of before. The African people were united solidly with the movement, *for* freedom, *against* oppression. We had felt our strength in the Defiance Campaign, and had felt the structure of the oppressors tremble before our 10,000 volunteers. We were building an alliance with Indian and Coloured South Africans, starting to create bonds with the radical white minority. We felt we were coming to the crest of a hill, and that our freedom now lay so close to hand that we would see it for ourselves, "*in our lifetime*" as we said.

It was no longer good enough to know only what we were against: apartheid, race discrimination, poverty, oppression. This was the enemy and we had all seen its face for ourselves, and learnt to oppose it relentlessly everywhere. This was what we were against. *But what were we for?* Freedom in our lifetime? What was this freedom? What was its shape and colour, and what would it be like to live in it?

I suppose we in the Congress, whose lives were spent in the battle for that freedom, had come each in his own way to form a picture in our minds. But we had never sat down to say: it will be thus and thus, we will live and develop thus.

Were we all of one mind even about the detail of the freedom for which we fought together? It had never before seemed necessary to know.

SENSING VICTORY

But in 1954 it was. Not only did *we* feel that we would have to answer the question in our lifetime: everywhere our people were sensing victory too, looking over the hill and asking us, what is there when we have freedom? We knew the time had come to give the 'freedom' shadow a South African substance. We were going to draw the picture of our future in as much detail as we could.

This was the origin of the campaign for the Freedom Charter. As in all joint actions, the African National Congress took the lead. We put a plan before our allies in the other Congresses, and from it came the idea for a "Congress of the People." The idea itself was simple enough. We, the political leaders of our people, would not simply give a directive as to the meaning of freedom. We would get the people to tell us! *They* would draw up a Freedom Charter, as a guide for *us*. We would consult the people in town and country, in every occupation, and across all the race and colour barriers of oppression. We would ask what shape they wished to give

the freedom that was coming. And finally we would compile what they demanded into a single Charter.

A simple idea: but we were not so simple as to believe that in South Africa it would be easy. What we were doing smacked too much of democracy. We were asking people to draw their own constitution for the future — in a country where only one in six adults had the right to vote. We were going to ask them to speak of freedom and its meaning — in a country which had never known free speech for the oppressed majority. And finally, we were going to ask them to send delegates to vote for that Charter of the future — in a country which had never known a freely-elected assembly of the nation's representatives. What we were doing would be treason to white supremacy, treason to South African apartheid and reaction.

"SPEAK OF FREEDOM"

Nevertheless, we did it. Bannings, banishments and proscriptions of our active workers and propagandists multiplied. Meetings were banned, gatherings disrupted by armed police, leaflets confiscated, posters torn down. War was declared on us. But we did it. We issued the "Call for the Congress of the

Photos. Left: A section of the historic meeting of the Congress of the People. Below: Unemployed workers wait outside a Pass Office to register for employment. The Freedom Charter says: "There shall be Work and Security!"





Forced out of their homes under the Group Areas Act, this family sits forlornly in the open. The Freedom Charter says: "There shall be Houses, Security and Comfort!"

People" to every group of people in the country: "We call the farmers. Let us speak of the rich lands and the people who are poor. Let us speak of freedom!" That was the watchword, and the country rang with it: "Let us speak of freedom." And at thousands of gatherings, large and small, in factories and on farms, in suburban squares and at bus-stops, in halls and under the sun, our active workers gathered the people together to speak of freedom.

As the terror gathered and the persecution grew more intense, the little slips of paper recording the talk of freedom at all these meetings began to flow back to campaign headquarters. "We want freedom to stay in our houses even when our men are unemployed." "We want to be able to leave the farms to work in town." "We want seed." "We want a fifty-hour week." "We want all children at school." "We want . . ."

THE PEOPLE DECIDE

For weeks, while the meetings talked, delegates were elected and money collected for fares, a Congress commission faithfully read, classified, indexed and grouped all the demands, all the thousands upon thousands of variously sized and variously coloured papers that came through precariously by hand. Could this be freedom, this petty claim "Our location superintendant must be sacked"? Or "Foremen must not swear at us"? The drafting commission sorted them all, grouped them, classified them.

And as the delegates prepared to travel to the Congress of the People, the substance began to emerge from the mountains of paper. Up to the very day of the Congress of the People — June 26 1955 — no one except the drafting commission saw the finished effort. It was revealed all in one

piece, as a draft for the delegates' decision there in the sun at Kliptown in the Transvaal. Over three-and-a-half thousand delegates made their way through the police roadblocks, the obstructions, arrests and difficulties, to take part in the discussions on the draft. The substance was read out amidst crashing cheers. This was the reality of freedom: *our* blueprint for our singing tomorrows; ten chapters, many sub-heads.

The people shall govern!

All national groups shall have equal rights!

The people shall share in the contry's wealth.

The land shall be shared among those who work it..

All shall be equal before the law.

All shall enjoy equal human rights.

There shall be work and security.

The doors of learning and of culture shall be opened!

There shall be houses, security and comfort!

There shall be peace and friendship!

WE SHALL WIN WITH ARMS

Here then was our Freedom Charter, proclaimed on the very day our freedom-fighters had made their own by several epic struggles: June 26, Freedom Day. We proclaimed it proudly, amidst cheers. Nothing could damp the day. Not the hundreds of police, standing all about the clearing where we sat under the fierce winter sun. Not the Sten guns all around. Not the deliberate drawn-out hooting by hostile loco-men, drowning out our speakers as their trains rolled by just beyond the speakers' rostrum.

And finally, not even the police raid made in massed force near the end of the day, with all the thousands of delegates surrounded, forced to give their names and addresses, surrender their papers, turn out their handbags and their pockets. Even then in the midst of that hostile army the day was ours. We sang endless freedom songs as they filled their little dossiers. It was our day, and freedom was just over the hill! Doubtless we were naive. What we were doing was treason to apartheid and race oppression. This we knew. Within eighteen months, 156 of our most prominent people would be on trial for Treason; something of this sort we knew could well happen. But perhaps we did not understand well enough the ferocity with which our enemies would fight to keep us from cresting the hill. Had we done so, perhaps we might have proclaimed the Freedom Charter not with songs but with guns in our hands, as now we are forced to do. The journey has proved longer and more arduous than it seemed to us then.

But still we see the greatness ahead. Even now, when we are taking arms in our hands, we know freedom is there, over the hill, and that we will see it *IN OUR LIFETIME*. Now, more bitter as we are and more grievously wounded, we are yet stronger than we were. Because we know the shape our freedom will take, when we win it.

It is in our Freedom Charter.

JUNE 26, 1950

...THE BEGINNING

by Terry Bell

It was late on the night of June 25 several years ago. I, a young newspaper reporter, sat in the front of the police pick-up van, squeezed between the crew of two, a constable and a sergeant.

It could have been any mild winter night as we cruised through the near-deserted streets of Johannesburg. I had been with the same crew before and, at the time, they knew nothing of my political beliefs. But that night was different. The atmosphere in the cab of the Ford van was tense. The policemen were unusually quiet: there was none of the crude story-telling and ribald laughter I had experienced on previous trips.

I too was silent. I did not trust myself to talk for fear that the deep feeling of satisfaction I felt at the almost visible fear of my two companions would show through. And they had reason to fear, for midnight would bring a new day — a day which has a vast significance for South Africa. June 26: South Africa Freedom Day.

Being June 26, the two policemen were convinced that "something" had to happen. It was a day when "they" were bound to do "something." "They" were of course the millions of oppressed South Africans, and the "something" was some form of action against the oppressors.

This is the pattern of South Africa Freedom Day: fear and apprehension on the one hand and hope and re-dedication, very often coupled with positive

action, on the other. 1950 was a significant and turbulent year. The events of the year were foreshadowed by a resolution adopted by the national conference of the African National Congress in Bloemfontein in December 1949. The resolution called for a nation-wide stoppage of work in protest against the Nationalist Government's policies. No date was set for this protest, but six months later it was implemented.

This resolution was obviously one of the reasons which caused the flurry of police activity and the banning — under the Riotous Assemblies Act — of several leaders of the movement. These bannings triggered off the Defend Free Speech Convention, held in Johannesburg on 26 March 1950.

But the protests did not stop at convention speeches. In a matter of weeks, on 1st May, the Transvaal came out on strike. It was a tremendously effective demonstration, with the police and government being caught completely un-awares.

When the strikers returned to their homes they were faced by huge contingents of police. In Alexandra Township they opened fire, indiscriminately shooting into the crowds. By early evening 18 people lay dead and 30 were wounded by police bullets.

Far from quieting the resolve of the people to resist, this brutality by the police merely made for greater determination to struggle on. With more and more shackles coming into play almost daily, and angered by this attack on the

workers, the ANC national executive met at Thaba 'Nchu on 14 May, and resolved to call a national general strike to protest at the mass of oppressive legislation and to commemorate those who died during the strike 13 days previously.

This strike call received the support of a number of other organizations, and preparations went ahead, this time in the face of a government and police force who were determined not to be caught napping a second time. But despite the constant police vigilance the strike organizers managed to get their work done.

The morning of June 26 1950 dawned sunny. And with the morning came the ace up the government's sleeve. Many morning newspapers in their early editions, which went to press around midnight, carried stories of the failure of the strike — before it had even begun. This tactic was calculated to throw the strikers into disarray, but although it had an effect in some areas, the ANC call was largely heeded and Port Elizabeth, for example, stayed out 100 per cent. In other areas as far ranging as Mafeking, Craddock and Kimberley the strike call met with a good response.

Thus began a series of campaigns on June 26 in succeeding years (hence the fear of the two policemen with whom I rode some years ago) — campaigns of the people against the oppression and despotism perpetuated by the fascist regime and its armed forces in South Africa.

"WE, THE PEOPLE OF SOUTH AFRICA, DECLARE FOR ALL OUR COUNTRY AND THE WORLD TO KNOW:

that South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and that no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people;

that our people have been robbed of their birthright to land, liberty and peace by a form of government founded on injustice and inequality;

that our country will never be prosperous or free until all our people live in brotherhood, enjoying equal rights and opportunities;

that only a democratic state, based on the will of all the people, can secure to all their birthrights without distinction of colour, race, sex or belief;

And therefore, we the people of South Africa, black and white together – equals, countrymen and brothers – adopt this Freedom Charter. And we pledge ourselves to strive together, sparing neither strength nor courage, until the democratic changes set out here have been won.

THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN!

Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

All people shall be entitled to take part in the administration of the country;

The rights of the people shall be the same, regardless of race, colour or sex;

All bodies of minority rule, advisory boards, councils and authorities shall be replaced by democratic organs of self-government.

ALL NATIONAL GROUPS SHALL HAVE EQUAL RIGHTS!

There shall be equal status in the bodies of state, in the courts and in the schools for all national groups and races;

All people shall have equal right to use their own languages, and to develop their own folk culture and customs;

All national groups shall be protected by laws against insults to their race and national pride;

The preaching and practice of national, racial or colour discrimination and contempt shall be a punishable crime;

All apartheid laws and practices shall be set aside.

THE PEOPLE SHALL SHARE IN THE COUNTRY'S WEALTH!

The national wealth of our country, the heritage of all South Africans, shall be restored to the people;

The mineral wealth beneath the soil, the banks and monopoly industry shall be transferred to the ownership of the people as a whole;

All other industry and trade shall be controlled to assist the well-being of the people;

All people shall have equal rights to trade where they choose, to manufacture and to enter all trades, crafts and professions.

T FREEDOM

Adopted at the Congress of the People

THE LAND SHALL BE SHARED AMONG THOSE WHO WORK IT!

Restrictions of land ownership on a racial basis shall be ended, and all the land redivided among those who work it, to banish famine and land hunger;

The state shall help the peasants with implements, seed, tractors and dams to save the soil and assist the tillers;

Freedom of movement shall be guaranteed to all who work on the land;

All shall have the right to occupy land wherever they choose;

People shall not be robbed of their cattle, and forced labour and farm prisons shall be abolished.

ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW!

No one shall be imprisoned, deported or restricted without a fair trial;

No one shall be condemned by the order of any Government official;

The courts shall be representative of all the people; Imprisonment shall be only for serious crimes against the people, and shall aim at re-education, not vengeance;

The police force and army shall be open to all on an equal basis and shall be the helpers and protectors of the people;

All laws which discriminate on grounds of race, colour or belief shall be repealed.

ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS!

The law shall guarantee to all their right to speak, to organize to meet together, to publish, to preach, to worship and to educate their children;

THE CHARTER

Kliptown, South Africa, on 26 June 1955

The privacy of the house from police raids shall be protected by law;

All shall be free to travel without restriction from countryside to town, from province to province and from South Africa abroad;

Pass Laws, permits, and all other laws restricting these freedoms shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE WORK AND SECURITY!

All who work shall be free to form trade unions, to elect their officers and to make wage agreements with their employers;

The state shall recognise the right and duty of all to work, and to draw full unemployment benefits;

Men and women of all races shall receive equal pay for equal work;

There shall be a forty-hour working week, a national minimum wage, paid annual leave, and sick leave for all workers, and maternity leave on full pay for all working mothers;

Miners, domestic workers, farm workers, and civil servants shall have the same rights as all others who work;

Child labour, compound labour, the tot system and contract labour shall be abolished.

THE DOORS OF LEARNING AND CULTURE SHALL BE OPENED!

The government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life;

All the cultural treasures of mankind shall be open to all, by free exchange of books, ideas and contact with other lands;

The aim of education shall be to teach the youth to love their people and their culture, to honour human brotherhood, liberty and peace;

Education shall be free, compulsory, universal and equal for all children;

Higher education and technical training shall be opened to all by means of state allowances and scholarships awarded on the basis of merit;

Adult illiteracy shall be ended by a mass state education plan;

Teachers shall have all the rights of other citizens;

The colour bar in cultural life, in sport and in education shall be abolished.

THERE SHALL BE HOUSES, SECURITY AND COMFORT!

All people shall have the right to live where they choose, to be decently housed, and to bring up their families in comfort and security;

Unused housing space to be made available to the people; Rent and prices shall be lowered, food plentiful and no one shall go hungry;

A preventive health scheme shall be run by the state;

Free medical care and hospitalization shall be provided for all, with special care for mothers and young children;

Slums shall be demolished, and new suburbs built where all have transport, roads, lighting, playing fields, creches and social centres;

The aged, the orphans, the disabled and the sick shall be cared for by the state;

Rest, leisure and recreation shall be the right of all;

Fenced locations and ghettos shall be abolished and laws which break up families shall be repealed.

THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP!

South Africa shall be a fully independent state, which respects the rights and sovereignty of nations;

South Africa shall strive to maintain world peace and the settlement of all international disputes by negotiation – not war;

Peace and friendship amongst all our people shall be secured by upholding the equal rights, opportunities and status of all;

The people of the protectorates – Basutoland (Lesotho), Bechuanaland (Botswana) and Swaziland – shall be free to decide for themselves their own future;

The right of all the peoples of Africa to independence and self-government shall be recognised, and shall be the basis of close co-operation.

Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here:

'These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives until we have won our liberty.'

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

"ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW"

— *Freedom Charter*

A 16-year-old son of the African maid of a company director was sentenced to six strokes by a Johannesburg magistrate for being in possession of two bullets which he said he had found while playing in Alexandra Township. The boy had to be treated in hospital after the caning.

The headmistress of the convent, the Immaculate High School, said the boy had been a pupil of hers for over four years. "In all that time we have not had the slightest trouble with him. He has always been well-behaved and is a very quiet type of boy. I was so surprised when the police arrested him that I wrote a letter to them stating what kind of boy he is and asking them to release him."

A doctor who examined the boy two days after the strokes were administered, said: "He has five open-wound lacerations which are extremely severe. The flesh has been torn and the wounds have turned septic. He needs medical treatment."

The woman employing the boy's mother said: "I was shocked when I was told that the boy had been whipped. I wanted to weep, especially when I thought what it would have been like for a child of mine to have received the same treatment. The boy's mother is a widow and has struggled to put her son through school."

Her husband said: "He should not have been caned. If a White boy had been found with two bullets he had picked up he may not even have been charged . . . I feel that if there had been an appeal to the Supreme Court a judge would not have allowed the sentence to be carried out. I am most indignant that with such a home and scholastic background he should be treated in this way."

The boy's mother said: "I could not believe it when the police arrested my son. Like any boy when he saw the bullets he picked them up and brought them home and kept them in his room. I believed him when he told me he had found them. He has always been a wonderful and obedient child and has never given me any trouble, nor has he ever been in trouble. After he was caned I wept and so did he."

"I took him to hospital for treatment and he is now under doctor's care. He cannot sit down and is suffering from shock."

The boy said: "I picked up the bullets and didn't even know if they were real ones. A policeman told the magistrate that, on a search in the township, he found the bullets in my room. I was sentenced to six strokes."

"Three hours later I had to take off my pants and a doctor examined me and then left. A policeman then hit me with a cane. It was so sore that I screamed and I started bleeding badly."



At the hearing in the Johannesburg Magistrates Court, the lawyer appearing for the boy told the magistrate: "In spite of the fact that the boy is only 16 he is in Standard Nine, which is rather unusual for an African. His mother is his sole support."

"When he was arrested he made a clean breast of the matter . . . He did not know that it was a criminal offence to be in possession of the cartridges."

"When I was 16 years old and in Standard Nine I also did not know that it was a criminal offence to be in possession of cartridges without a licence although I did know one had to have a licence for a gun."

"The accused's story is feasible. He admitted everything openly and pleaded guilty. My submission is that he should not receive corporal punishment. He should be cautioned and discharged."

The magistrate said that he believed that the boy knew it was an offence, and if he didn't know he should have, and sentenced him to six strokes.

"THERE SHALL BE PEACE AND FRIENDSHIP"

— *Freedom Charter*

Dr J. Bruins Slot, editor-in-chief of the Calvinist Amsterdam newspaper "Trouw", said in Amsterdam last month he had been refused a visa by the South African Government to visit the Republic to study apartheid.

Dr Bruins Slot said he had not expected a refusal after exhaustively explaining the purpose of his intended visit at the Embassy on 15 January.

"The South African Government always claims that one cannot judge apartheid policy without having visited the country" he added.

At the request of the Dutch Government Dr Bruins Slot took part in a United Nations seminar on apartheid which was held in Brazil in September last year.

"ALL SHALL BE EQUAL BEFORE THE LAW"

— *Freedom Charter*

A judge told two White married men who were sentenced to terms of imprisonment for raping a 15-year-old African girl, that Non-Whites in South Africa must be protected.

Felix Alexander Pohl, 23, was sentenced to 5 years' jail, and Gert Johannes van Heerden, 20, a social worker at Benoni Industrial Site, was sentenced to 3 years.

COMMENT AND REPORT

Leave to appeal was granted by the Eastern Transvaal Circuit Court, and the two men were each granted bail of £50. The judge said he believed any woman would yield if threatened with shooting, as the girl had been. The two men had planned to commit the offence by impersonating policemen.

(Editor's note: Non-White men have been sentenced to death for similar offences against White women.)

"ALL SHALL ENJOY EQUAL HUMAN RIGHTS"

— Freedom Charter

An African, Dr Stanley Letanka, who is to marry the Earl of Cranbrook's daughter, Lady Christian Gathorne-Hardy, this month, says he has been cheated and tricked because he will be unable to return to South Africa.

He stated: "It is like being thrown out of your parents' home. My feeling is one of anger."

Dr Letanka was referring to the Prohibition of Mixed Marriages Amendment Bill, which is now before the South African Parliament, and which will make it illegal for South African citizens living abroad to marry people of a different race group.

Dr Letanka stated that while living in South Africa "I was not frustrated by the fact that people were rude to me in the street or that I was pushed off the pavement. I was frustrated by the fact that educational facilities were closed to me, that I had no part at all in the government of my country, and that I could never own my own property."

WINNIE MANDELA ARRESTED

Winnie Mandela appeared before a Johannesburg magistrate charged with an offence allegedly committed 11 months ago.

She was represented by Mr J. Carlson, who said he was surprised at the conduct of the police in arresting Mrs Mandela. She could have been warned to appear in court.

The State did not oppose the application for her release on bail, and she was released on her own recognisances. She appeared on a charge of failing to give her full name and address to a police officer when requested to do so, which is a charge under the Suppression of Communism Act.

She was also charged with resisting arrest.

Mrs Mandela is a banned person and is required to report weekly to the police, which she has done for the past 3 years. ■

AFRICAN LEADERS REBUFF VORSTER

South Africa's diplomatic offensive in Africa, following its successful trade pact with Malawi, appears to have come to a halt.

South African diplomats have incautiously let it be known that they hoped Zambia and Kenya would be next to fall in line with Malawi's Dr Banda.

These claims have been roughly dismissed by Kenya and Zambia. Kenya has described the S.A. reports as "pure fiction, inspired by misguided agents of the fascist, supremacist regime of South Africa which Kenya does not recognise."

At a special Press Conference Dr Kaunda of Zambia criticised Banda's reasons for entering into trade and diplomatic relations with South Africa. He did not however mention Banda by name. "The South African Government" he said "has voted a lot of money for the purpose of trying to woo African leaders. It knows it is a misfit, and would like to buy friendship by using their extensive resources, which they exploit to the disadvantage of those of their fellow-men who happen to be men of another colour."

SWAPO GUERRILLAS IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA — MULLER SPEAKS

A group of armed 'terrorists' infiltrated South West Africa in March and tried to ambush a police patrol, the Deputy Minister of Police Mr S.L. Muller said in the S.A. Parliament recently. They opened fire on the police and in the resulting skirmish two rifles had been taken. Since then "very nearly the whole group" had been arrested. Muller said that among members of the South West Africa People's Organization (SWAPO) recently arrested was one of its founders. This person, he said, had confessed to being a communist and said that SWAPO was completely under communist domination.

The Deputy Minister said an estimated 900 'trainee terrorists' had left SWA under SWAPO's auspices, with promises of scholarships to study overseas. "It is significant that SWAPO concentrates on recruits of very low educational standard," said Muller. "Only a handful of Ovambos who could possibly qualify for advanced academic studies were among those recruits."

Some of these recruits were dissatisfied in Dar es Salaam where they were

taken, and found they had been attracted there under false pretences, stated Muller; and though they had been allowed to travel through Africa without valid travel documents, they were refused permission to return the same way.

The leader of SWAPO in Cape Town was Herman Ja-Toivo. "Ja-Toivo, who was recently arrested in Ovamboland for terrorist activities, confessed that in addition to Prof. Simons and Brian Bunting, he also made acquaintance with well-known S.A. communists such as Denis Goldberg, Ben Turok, Fred Carneson, George Peake and others."

Muller said that from Dar es Salaam trainees were dispatched in groups to the Soviet Union, China, Egypt, Ghana, Algeria and North Korea.

"During September 1965 the first group



of 6 SWAPO terrorists infiltrated into Ovamboland. They were armed with Russian sub-machine guns, automatic pistols and thousands of rounds of ammunition. They established an underground hide-out in isolated dense forest in Ovamboland. On August 28 last year the camp was discovered and attacked by the South African police. In the ensuing skirmish two terrorists were killed, one wounded and seven arrested. A few managed to escape."

SWAPO REPLIES

A spokesman for the South West African People's Organization interviewed by Sechaba, dismissed as "pure poppycock" some of the allegations made by the Deputy Minister.

He said the world knew of the inhuman conditions under which people detained under the 180-day law are kept, and knew of the inhuman methods used to get people to 'confess'.

As for activities of our freedom-fighters, he stated, the world will hear a lot more about them in due course. ■



OUR PRESIDENT-GENERAL

Chief Albert John Lutuli, President-General of the African National Congress

"The struggle must go on — the struggle to make the opportunity for the building to begin. The struggle will go on . . . I shall die, if need be, for this cause. But I do not want to die until I have seen the building begun.

Mayibuye i Afrika! Come, Africa, come." — Chief Lutuli

His autobiography is called *Let my people go* — and it could not have a better title. Chief's life has been a struggle for his people's freedom, as a result of which he has been remorselessly persecuted by the South African Government.

Trained as a teacher, he was elected chief of the Umvoti Mission Reserve (Groutville) in 1936, where he did impressive work organizing the African sugar producers . . . though white opposition finally frustrated his efforts. It was in 1945 that he joined the ANC. With the election of the Nationalists into power in 1948 and the immediate intensification of oppression, Chief became increasingly active and in 1951 was chairman of the ANC National Conference. As a result of his political activity, he was dismissed from the chieftainship of Umvoti and in 1952, he was elected President of the ANC. The first ban was imposed on him in 1953, the second in 1954. He was now debarred from public speaking and confined to the Stanger magisterial district. Then in 1956 he was arrested, charged with Treason. For four years the trial went on. In 1959 he received an order confining him to Groutville

for five years. However, he had to be in the Transvaal for the trial, and it was in Pretoria that he gave the lead to the people by publicly burning his pass and calling on all Africans to follow his example. This led to the wave of arrests in the State of Emergency, during which Chief was detained and kept in complete isolation.

Charged on a total of 104 counts, for burning his pass and inciting others to do the same, he was found guilty on two of the counts and sentenced to a suspended term of imprisonment and a fine.

It was back to Groutville after that, for the long stretch of confinement which he is still undergoing now in 1967, broken only by the award to him of the Nobel Peace Prize. This award to Chief enraged the South African Government. However, they felt themselves forced to allow him to go to Stockholm to receive it. When he was later elected Rector of Glasgow University, he was refused permission to go there.

Cut off from all contacts with friends and colleagues, except when a sufficiently important foreign visitor is allowed to visit him — as was the case with Robert Kennedy — Chief carries on.

All of us in Congress, who cannot send him our greetings and wishes, will as always think of him on Freedom Day — June 26 — with love and admiration.

CHIEF LUTULI SPEAKS...

The Freedom Charter:

"The Charter produced at Kliptown is, line by line, the direct outcome of conditions which obtain: harsh, oppressive and unjust conditions. It is thus a practical and relevant document. It attempted to give a flesh-and-blood meaning, *in the South African setting*, to such words as *democracy, freedom, liberty*. If the Charter is examined it will be seen that *freedom* means the opening up of the opportunity to all South Africans to live full and abundant lives in terms of country, community and individual. It means the end of legalised bullying, the removal of a sub-human outlook."

RACE Relations:

"Africa as a whole is sick of colonial 'partnership' with whites as perpetual 'senior partner.' This is not the same as being sick of whites, and we do South Africa no service if we let ourselves be tarred with the supremacist brush."



The Defiance Campaign:

"It had succeeded in creating among a very large number of Africans the spirit of militant defiance. The Campaign itself came to an untimely end, but it left a new climate, and it embraced people far beyond our range of vision."

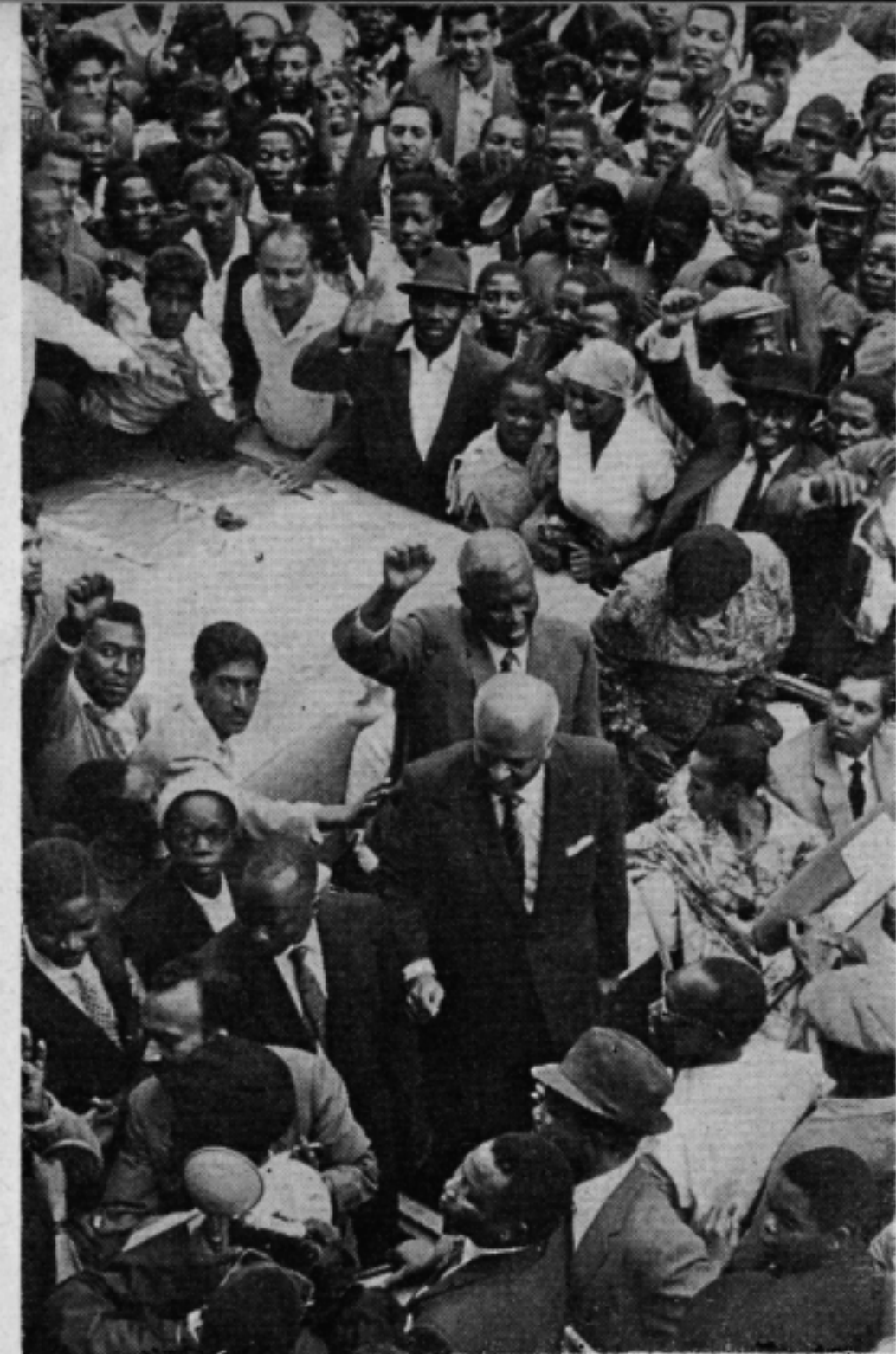
The Economic Boycott:

"The economic boycott of South Africa will entail undoubted hardship for Africans. We do not doubt that. But if it is a method which shortens the day of bloodshed, the suffering to us will be a price we are willing to pay. In any case, we suffer already, our children are often undernourished, and on a small scale (so far) we die at the whim of a policeman."

The Future:

"There remains before us the building of a new land, a home for men who are black, white, brown, from the ruins of the old narrow groups, a synthesis of the rich cultural strains which we have inherited . . . South Africa is not yet a home for all her sons and daughters. Such a home we wish to ensure."

Photo captions. Facing page: Chief Lutuli receives the Nobel Prize. Left: With a look of disgust Lutuli prepares to burn his pass in the great ANC Anti-Pass Campaign of 1959—60. Above: Scenes like this were plentiful wherever Lutuli went. A boy dances to the beat of drums at the Durban airport where crowds had gathered to meet their leader on his return from Oslo.



Lutuli greets people with the clenched fist salute of the ANC on his way to address a mass meeting. In front of him is Dr G.M. Naicker, President of the Natal Indian Congress.

CHIEF LUTULI MAY BE GOING BLIND

If, as reported, Chief Albert John Lutuli, President General of the African National Congress goes blind, a greater part of the blame will rest on the shoulders of the South African Government.

Some months ago Chief Lutuli applied for the relaxation of the ban restricting him to his village — Groutville — about fifty miles from the nearest city, in order to have his eye attended to. He did not even receive an acknowledgement from the authorities.

During all this time, we have been informed, he was unable to do any reading or writing and spent most of his time listening to the radio.

When, recently, the pain became unendurable, he made yet another application for a relaxation of his banning notice. On this occasion he was allowed to go to a Durban hospital for attention.

A medical spokesman is reported to have said that he has a very nasty eye condition and that he would not be cured for a "very long time," if at all. He may lose the use of his left eye and perhaps he may go completely blind, if the affected eye does not respond to treatment he is now receiving.

(Note: — We have received many messages of sympathy since news of Chief's illness became known. We suggest that such messages will be appreciated much more if sent direct to Chief. His address is: P.O. Groutville Mission Reserve, Groutville, via Stanger, Natal, South Africa.)

WHY WERE THESE CHARGES LAID... AND WHY WERE THEY WITHDRAWN?

A recent report from South Africa informs us that Nelson Mandela, Dr Neville Alexander and Eddie Daniels were to appear before a magistrate on Robben Island at "inquiries under the Prisons Act." Mandela was due to appear first, charged under the prison regulations with being "idle, careless or negligent in his work" or refusing to work. The allegation related to an incident in the island's lime quarry on 25 January.

Eddie Daniels' alleged offence took place in the lime quarry on the same day. Dr Alexander was charged under the same section, but his charge related to an alleged offence while he was loading a truck on 14 November last year.

"Idle, careless or negligent"? When we look at the calibre of the men involved, these charges just don't make sense. Nelson Mandela, South Africa's leading political prisoner, is the last man on earth to be a "malingerer," and both Neville Alexander and Eddie Daniels, serving 20 and 15 years respectively, are highly responsible people.

What is the story behind this? Could it be that these three were registering a protest against the inhuman conditions in Robben Island's sweated-labour quarries?

Stories filter through of the secret tribunals held on Robben Island, where men are sentenced to 'cuts' and lashes and to periods in solitary confinement and on starvation diet. The names of Indris Naidoo and of Laloo Chiba, two outstanding Indian leaders, have been mentioned in this regard.

Why were the charges against Mandela, Alexander and Daniels subsequently dropped?

We suggest that if the charges had been pursued, the three prominent prisoners might have revealed the true story of what goes on in Cape Town's offshore Hell Island. That is the last thing South Africa wants at a time when the Vorster regime is trying to polish up its hideously tarnished international image.

South Africa has just refused to allow the Human Rights Commission of the U.N. to tour her prisons, on the grounds that conditions in them are "excellent"! Meanwhile, who knows what is happening to the brave men who rot in jail? It is now mid-winter in South Africa, adding cold to the other hardships our prisoners are undergoing.

Let us waste no time in pressing for a demand from all nations to find out the hidden truth of just what is happening to South Africa's heroes behind bars.

THE TIME HAS COME

The Coloured People must Prepare to Bear Arms for Liberation
4th and concluding section in the series by Alex la Guma

The only uncompromising formula for complete equality and unconditional democracy for all people who inhabit South Africa has been offered by the Congress Movement, led by the African National Congress. The Freedom Charter, which is its programme, sets out the principles on which all people will be able to share in the creation of a united country based on the will of all the people, with guarantees against all forms of racial discrimination.

The Coloured People's Congress, allied to the Congress Movement, accepts the Freedom Charter as its programme, and it is in support of such a policy that the Coloured community can finally come into its own, side by side with the rest of the oppressed people. It is only in a State as envisaged in the Freedom Charter that all the degradations of inferior political rights, social decay, poverty and malnutrition, crime and drunkenness and frustration, to which the Coloured community has been victim, will be swept away.

NEW METHODS OF STRUGGLE

But the CPC, although a legal organization, cannot hope to lead and unite the community in the face of the fascist methods of the Nationalist government, by adhering to its position as an openly public body, thereby exposing itself to the attacks of the Nationalists.

At the same time, it cannot avoid the standpoint that the seizure of power by the oppressed can only come through armed struggle, in view of the prevailing tyranny in South Africa. It must consider new methods of struggle and new forms of organization. The Coloured community as a whole must be made to realise that the course adopted by the African people led by the African National Congress, is the only course open to the oppressed of South Africa.

The Nationalists will tolerate nothing but the grovelling acceptance of apartheid, and the white population have adhered for generations to their position of superiority. By using bannings, house arrest, imprisonment, outright police terror, the white supremacists have stifled every form of opposition to their policies. Coloured City Councillors, direct representatives of their people, have been warned to keep in line; such units as the District Six Committee against Group Areas removals, and others, have disintegrated under the intimidation of the Security Police; teachers opposing the Government have been banned and dismissed from their posts.

Members of the Coloured People's Congress, which has shown consistent militancy in its approach to the problems of the community, have been immobilised by imprisonment, bannings and confinements, house arrest, thus bringing all activity of the organization to a halt.

What other recourse have the people then, but to adopt and support new methods of struggle for their freedom?

UNDERGROUND ORGANIZATION

"The Coloured people have never been given to working underground" stated Dr Van Der Ross (*Cape Argus, 14 November 1965*). We say that NO people have been "given" to working underground. The people of Europe had no natural aptitude for pursuing their underground activities against the Nazi occupation. They had to submit or fight, so they fought underground. So did the people of Asia and so do the people of Latin America. The people can no longer stand subservient to tyranny and rule by force and violence. Violence can only be fought with violence. There is no alternative in South Africa today.

On the international front there have been numerous resolutions of support for the non-White peoples' demands for justice in South Africa, but such resolutions, while welcome, are only supplementary to the defeat of white supremacy in our country. Vorster, on being elected Prime Minister, stated that South Africa's problems will be solved in South Africa. We agree, they shall, finally, be solved there.

Today the feasibility of waging armed struggle for freedom is no longer the dream it has been in the past. South Africa is being rapidly isolated in the international political arena; the emergence of sympathetic African states on the borders of white-ruled Southern Africa and the existence of the powerful Socialist world make armed struggle a reality.

In the Portuguese colonies the African forces of liberation are actively engaged with Portuguese troops; the people of South West Africa have started to embark on guerilla warfare; the people of Zimbabwe are waging a fierce struggle; in South Africa itself Umkhonto we Sizwe has emerged as the military wing of the oppressed people.

FIGHTING RECORD

The Coloured people number 1,703,000 of which 1,449,000 live in the Cape Province alone. The 1960 census put the Coloured population of Cape Town as 417,881 estimating an increase to 553,000 by 1970. In Cape Town alone the Coloured community man 80% of the city's manpower. There on the southernmost sector of South Africa this vast number of antagonised people stand in the rear of the forces of white supremacy, constituting a potentially formidable ally of the forces of democracy.

Warfare is not new to the Coloured community. Their military traditions are enshrined in the country's history. Albeit under the false colours of imperialism's 'freedom and democracy,' the community's contribution to South Africa's defence is recognised.

The military annals of South Africa bear proof of this since the first Coloured men were called to arms in 1795. Their

THOUGHTS ON JUNE 26

by Raymond Kunene

(London representative of the
African National Congress of
South Africa)

*Was I wrong when I thought
All shall be avenged
Was I wrong when I thought
The rope of iron holding the neck
of young bulls
Shall be avenged.
Was I wrong to think that the orphans
of sulphur
Shall rise from the ocean.
Was I depraved to think there needn't
be love
There needn't be forgiveness, there
needn't be progress
There needn't be goodness on earth
There needn't be towns of skeletons
Sending messages of elephants
to the moon.
Was I wrong to laugh asphyxiated ecstasy
When the sea rose like quicklime
When the ashes on ashes were
blown to the winds
When the infant sword was left
alone on the hill top
Was I wrong to erect monuments
of blood
Was I wrong to avenge the pillar of
Caesar
Was I wrong? Was I wrong?
Was I wrong to ignite the earth
To dance above the stars
Watching Europe burn and its
civilization of fire
Watching America disintegrate with
its gods of steel
Watching all persecutors of mankind
turn into dust
Was I wrong? Was I wrong?*

dead are buried in Europe, the Middle East and Africa. Of their sacrifices in the 1914—18 war, particularly at the battle of Square Hill, Palestine, Brig. Gen. J.W. Walker wrote: "The gallantry displayed by the Cape Corps Battallion was of the highest order and beyond all praise."

FOUGHT AGAINST FASCISM

In the war against nazism and fascism, Coloured men of the Cape Corps (including the Indian and Malay Corps) served from South Africa to North Africa, Italy, the Western Desert, Madagascar. The Director of Non-European Army Services Col. E.T. Stubbs said: "On the battle fronts, in fact wherever men of the Union Defence Forces were serving, large numbers of the Cape Corps were to be found." (*Cape Corps Souvenir, 1945*).

"Both out of the line and in the line their soldierly behaviour has been exemplary . . . and in no single instance have I ever seen any of my Non-European personnel behave in any way other than in the highest traditions." (*Lt. Col. C.L. Parkin D.C., 2nd Anti-Tank Regiment, S.A.A.*).

Nine Military Medals were won by members of the Cape Corps during world war two; four British Empire Medals; fiftyone Mentions-in-Despatches, two King's Commendations, and eight Commander-in-Chief's Commendations. The battles of Keren in the Sudan, the capture of 24 officers and 766 men by 2 officers and 16 men of the Cape Corps at the 'Awash' River area, are only two operations associated with the Cape Corps.

One of the first acts of the Nationalist Government when it came to power was to abolish the Cape Corps. This was an act typical of those who supported Nazi Germany when Coloured men were dying to defeat it. Today the Nationalists cynically expect them to defend apartheid and all its attendant evils through a "Coloured Corps" created for the purpose of guarding installations at home.

WE MUST BEAR ARMS AGAIN

The Coloured people will never defend apartheid. With military traditions behind them, traditions which they created in the hope that their contributions would be justly rewarded, they can continue their heroic service for the victory of real freedom and democracy.

The patience of the people is not endless. The time has come when they, side by side with the other oppressed people, must prepare to bear arms again, this time for the liberation of their country.

LITERATURE AND RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

Paper submitted by the South
African delegation to the Afro-
Asian Writers' Conference held
in Beirut

PART ONE

South African literature is a vast subject covering not only the stylistics of literature in four major languages — Nguni, Sotho, English and Afrikaans — but also the very content of the history of nations that today make up the peoples of South Africa. To understand contemporary resistance writing in our country, one must know the background of traditional literature, whose grandeur and greatness can be understood only in the context of the historical processes that shaped the destinies of our peoples. That this very literature and history remains suppressed and almost unknown to the world is one of the tragedies of colonial occupation. But since the task of our revolution involves the rediscovery of our heritage, it is our mission to reveal the epics which have been left us as a record of a dynamic and creative people. In this sense our task is to define the soul of the African people, and simultaneously to expose colonialism's depredations.

Recorded literature dates from the late 15th century. This is of course misleading, because like everything in Africa few civilizations are "discovered" until a day after independence. We can therefore accurately predict that the day of liberation will see the discovery of our literary tradition. Because African traditional literature is a product of a collective organized society its products became, in a few generations, a synthetic everyday description used in the very extension of the collective ethos.

The 15th century is outstanding in its pacific, almost idyllic, existence. This is clearly shown by the romantic quality of the dynastic poems of Ndaba, for instance. The primary occupation is to eulogise the beauty of physical features, the beauty of human relations, and satirical concern with greed and other anti-social habits. The impression one gets is of a people concerned with maintaining traditions and the integrity of a patriarchal structure.

This form of literature was to continue until the late 17th century, when the increase in population began to cause serious social and political upheavals. The Portuguese and British colonial incursions had begun to undermine the highly organized empires of Monomotapa and Kakongo, resulting in the shifting of populations. This period is symbolised by works whose heroic diversions surpass those of any previous or subsequent period. Most of the literary works of this period have perished with the communities that composed them. But thanks to the deep oral tradition we can piece together some of the legends and stories which form the history of the period, although more research is needed to complete the picture. We are still too involved in the actual task of liberation to study systematically the literatures not only of the Nguni but also of the Pa and the Khoikhoi. That such a task as we have before us involves the definition of our history and our literary heritage, is an indication of our deep awareness of the very problems this conference is convened for. It is for that reason that we regard the conference as a historical one, enabling both the African and Asian peoples to foster

the essential understanding of the purposes of revolution. We regard it as a great opportunity to disseminate a heritage in a world that is gradually going insane. It is insane because in its worship of the iron gods it annihilates not only people in Vietnam, in South Africa, in Mozambique and elsewhere but also what has so long been built up as part of the general heritage.

As the theme of our subject develops it will become clear that the darkest ages in our history are those periods in which by the arrogance of foreigners we have been forced to swallow their local productions, indeed as if they were the only statement of mankind. The same imperialism is fond of referring to our civilization as no more than a disorganized entity having no value and no relevance to the civilization of the world. That same imperialism has destroyed our creative instruments and products. It is for this reason that the period that follows has particular significance, not only as a refutation of their claims but also in itself as an achievement of great excellence. This was the 19th century: our golden age of literature. The disturbances in the continent of Africa produced major heroic epics which recorded the great era of resistance against the colonialist aggressor. In the Cape alone, nine major wars were fought against the invaders; while these wars were going on the Zulus in the north were creating a military machinery as had never been known before in this part of the world. Because of the closeness between life and literature in African societies, these factors in themselves produced a feverish flowering of not only epic poetry but also satirical, lyrical and dramatic. The poets and storytellers not only told tales and recited poetry but also extended the scope of literature, which ceased merely to comment on everyday social events but became the true vehicle of social, political and historical analysis. Individuals ceased to project their own personal excellence but became symbols of resistance. In the case of the Zulu empire, individuals came to symbolise courage, fearlessness and prowess. This radical change in the literary idiom can be seen in the epic of Magolwane, one of the greatest traditional poets. Of Shaka's military campaigns he says:

Like piles and piles of mountain cairns
Folding like a giant wave of the sea
Which forever howls in the dark night
Like a vast field of poisonous millet grains
Like a chasm filled with black millipedes
Like a tiger, a leopard, a ferocious lion
Like a black mamba, a stampeding elephant.

Compare this with the earlier poems of the pre-Shakan period:

O thou whose body is beautiful
You are like an overgrown greenery
On which birds fall and die
Only the birds of paradise survive.



South African delegates Mazizi Kunene, Lewis Nkosi and Ambrose Makiwane chat with delegates from the Middle East during a break at the Writers' Conference.

Note the idea of survival, not a phenomenon related to ethos and power but to individual external qualities of beauty. Going through this whole 19th century period we come across numerous examples of the same epic quality. In the Cape for instance, the literary idiom assumes not only this epic quality but also, true to all resistance literature, uses a highly symbolic language. Its ultimate intention is not only to create a strong central authority but also to convey meanings that evoke the identity of those who constitute the resistance force.

The heights of literary genius are also reached by the Sotho people during the reign of their able monarch King Mosheshoe I. Not only are the people called upon to resist the invader but also to sink their differences. Thus the house of Molapa becomes the subject of satire because of its divisive activities.

We must go back to Magolwane who aptly summarises the literary and political achievements of this period. He ends his epic with a philosophical statement whose significance is true for all achievements and civilizations of mankind:

O my Lord, generations of men come and go
But our great works are indestructible
It is they that will remain eternally
Making generations of men stare and weep at ruins.

Thus did Magolwane bear witness to one of the greatest periods of our literary history.

At this point we may perhaps give a rough idea of the literary techniques used in traditional literature. Of course these differ according to period and according to the language structure. However, basic to all African traditional literature is the use of two levels of meaning. On the one level the form is descriptive and on the other symbolic and philosophi-

cal. Since central to all African literature is a realistic approach, all symbolism and description is based on items not of fantasy and fancy but everyday experience and reality. This does not mean that African literature does not seek to convey its meanings through a mythological system. What it means is that the mythological system itself bears direct relationship to forms of reality as they are perceived in everyday existence. It also means that the embellishment of reality is achieved more through parallelization of concepts than through remodeling of reality; as in the animal stories for example, which project specific recognisable parallels between man and beast. This parallelization is deepened as a technique in the 19th century, precisely because in dealing with heroic subjects the African was concerned with conflicts whose significance was universal. Thus too, the human drama found its philosophical interpretations extended beyond the hitherto narrow confines of the clan or village. As the concern for philosophical summary became more and more urgent, the poets in particular developed a stanza form which became a vehicle of thought and description, for example:

The prattling women of Nomgabi
Prattling they claimed that he will never rule
But alas! it was Shaka's time to fill the earth.

These techniques, of course, cover wider areas of literature: the dramatised story form, the extended satirical form, the socially based lyric. All these can only be developed in a more detailed study which cannot be given in this brief summary. Suffice it to say that the techniques developed in this period have since become the most potent vehicles for conveying revolutionary thought.

(PART TWO of this paper, dealing with the modern period, will appear in the next issue of Sechaba.)