

SECHABA

official organ-african
national congress-south africa



Oliver Tambo
Nelson Mandela



THE MOROGORO CONFERENCE

Recently, at Morogoro in Tanzania, members of the African National Congress and units of Umkhonto we Sizwe based outside South Africa met in conference. The conference studied the enemy, his strength and his weakness. It examined the struggle, its record and achievements, and its targets for the future. It decided that: (1) The Revolutionary Council of the African National Congress will intensify the armed struggle and the mobilisation of the masses of our people in support of our revolution for freedom. Our people must study and master the method of guerilla warfare which enables oppressed people to fight and defeat huge imperialist armies. (2) The alliance with ZAPU, the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe, Rhodesia, will be strengthened. Smith is allied with Vorster, and apartheid has spread to Rhodesia. The freedom fighters of Zimbabwe are fighting our enemy, and we theirs, for white domination in Southern Africa is the enemy of all the African people of the sub-continent. Unity is strength, unity in armed struggle means victory for the African freedom movement. (3) Inside South Africa patriots must mobilise for the resistance against apartheid and in preparation for armed struggle. We must build secret and underground units of the ANC. We must build them strong, but safe from the Special Branch, and the informer. (4) We must prepare for the sharpening of the struggle. We must store weapons. We must watch the enemy, note his habits and his movements so that we can catch him unawares. (5) We must intensify the international campaign against South Africa's apartheid regime because this helps to weaken our enemy. (6) We must rally Africans,

Indians, Coloureds and democratic Whites for the overthrow of apartheid and the building of a new society of equality and democracy for all.

We are united on policy. We must be united in struggle. Freedom is a matter of struggle.

"These are the orders", said Acting President-General Oliver Tambo "to our people, to our youth, to our army, to every soldier. These are the orders to our leaders. Close ranks. Wage relentless war against disruptors and enemy agents. Defend the revolution against enemy lies and enemy propaganda, whatever form it takes. Be vigilant. The enemy is vigilant. Beware the wedge-driver—men who creep from ear to ear, driving wedges among us. We must face the enemy united for our unity is what the enemy fears. He fears our members for we are many and he is few. He seeks to divide us in order to weaken us. But we, the people, must make our numerical superiority count and that is why we must stand united, and face the enemy as one. THIS IS THE WAY TO WIN OUR FREEDOM".

SOME THINGS A FREEDOM FIGHTER SHOULD KNOW

How to make a Molotov Cocktail



This is the simplest weapon for use against enemy personnel, vehicles and buildings.

Fill a bottle three-quarters full with petrol mixed with a little tar or motor oil or creosote. Be sure to leave an air space between the petrol and the neck of the bottle. Cork the bottle with old rag or cotton waste, soaked in oil or petrol. Light with match and when bottle is thrown and smashed the petrol ignites and the tar or creosote or motor oil helps the petrol to stick to the side of the vehicle. (Creosote and tar is the best for this purpose.) Alternatively put an ordinary cork in the bottle and fasten a three-inch length of fuse to the neck of the bottle with wire as in diagram. The fuse can be a length of sashcord, rope or flannel soaked in a solution of saltpeter and water (KNO_3) and dried. Or you can also use a fuse consisting of flannel or rag soaked in oil or petrol. Light the fuse and throw the bottle.

THESE MEN ARE OUR BROTHERS; OUR SONS



THEY FIGHT FOR THE FREEDOM OF THE PEOPLE

In all history whenever men have fought for freedom they have been called names: In Algeria they were called terrorists; in Vietnam they were called bandits; in Kenya they were called criminal gangs, and in Southern Africa—in Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe and in South Africa itself—those who refuse to say "Ja baas" are also called names, by the enemy.

THEY ARE CALLED: TERRORISTS - SABOTEURS - AGITATORS - ABAGROGRISI - ABASHOKHOBEZI. THEY TRY TO DESTROY US BY SWEAR-WORDS BECAUSE THEY FEAR WHAT WE REALLY ARE—FREEDOM FIGHTERS!

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- THE WANKIE GUERRILLA ACTION
- PROBLEMS OF SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY

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49 Rathbone Street
LONDON W 1A - 4NL
Telegrams & Cables:
SECHABA LONDON W1
Telephone: 580-5303

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Fighting Talk

Guerrilla hunters, be warned!

This time it was the turn of the Eastern Cape. Following on the manoeuvres in the Northern Transvaal, heavy troop carriers laden with armed men in uniform recently invaded an extensive area in a massive military exercise directed at possible "seaborne terrorists". Operation Enterprise, as it was named by South Africa's all-white armed forces, was designed to train the troops to combat "terrorists' landing on the Eastern Cape coast from enemy ships or infiltrating overland. The troops were spread over a 600 square mile area to catch in their net the 320 - man "terrorist force" composed of local white farmers drawn from the Midlands Commando and army trainees.

This adventure, the second in recent months, was carried out with the normal bungling of the over-equipped and under-endowed army - they caught only 13 "terrorists" in the first 24 hours. In the process, they burnt up thousands of gallons of petrol, consumed tens of thousands of pounds of the people's taxes, and turned a large slice of our country into a hunting ground for trigger happy picnickers in uniform.

What right have they to invade our countryside? Who did they consult before moving their cumbersome vehicles, their mounted guns, and all the other paraphernalia of war into our lands where the African people have lived for centuries and where the handful of parasitic white farmers live off our people like leeches. Indeed, this latest intrusion is a sharp reminder that the original invaders only succeeded through superior weaponry. And now, a bigotted racist Government is once again overrunning the Eastern Cape gun in hand with as little respect or consideration for our people as their forefathers.

We do not call up the witness of history for rhetorical effect. We do so because we are deeply incensed at the transformation of our traditional homes into a playground for guerrilla hunting fascist troops who go about their dirty work with the levity of schoolboys but who will not hesitate to shoot down our people in cold blood when the real battle starts.

They come with their radios, their guitars, and their beer. They behave like conquering troops on the crest of the wave. **But the people wave no flags.** The children give no welcoming smiles. **These are not OUR heroes.** They belong to Pretoria. They have been trained in the use of machine guns, they know how to lunge with the bayonet, to set off rockets, and drop napalm. They have had ideological training on the Black Menace, on Communism and Liberalism. They are the shadows of the men killing in Vietnam. But our people are nursing their wrath. Watching with sunken cheeks and bated breath as the troop carriers roll by shrouded in fine dust, they are forced to stand by grimly and helpless.

There are bitter days ahead. These "exercises" bring no good. They are supposed to be for the purpose of training the army to fight guerrillas, but they are also meant to intimidate the local civil population; to put the Black Man in his place; to cow the peasantry.

But how can they hope to succeed? In a land where there was plenty, now there is hunger. Where we had a vigorous peasantry capable of drawing nature's best from the soil, we now have only old men, women and children. All the flower of youth has been conscripted for work in the world of the white man's mines and industries. Yet we remain short of land, and what we have is barren.

No, Vorster's army cannot hope to succeed. Somehow, the tide must be turned against the usurper. The people's wrath must be harnessed into a creative force, which, in our conditions, means struggle, and violent struggle at that. And if there are solicitous pacifists abroad who cannot understand that our people have to learn to kill in order to establish our humanity, to reassert our human dignity and become truly free men, then their pacifism is sterile.

We want peace. But we also want to be free. And as long as we are quiescent the only peace we can have is in the grave, and even that is disturbed by the rumble of military wheels and rolling iron treads.

Fascism must not pass! Guerrilla-hunters, be warned!

Explosions throughout the main cities of South Africa sent thousands of leaflets scattering into densely crowded streets where people quickly gathered to snap them up. Simultaneously, hidden tape recorders relayed a fighting message to the people of South Africa to intensify the struggle for freedom.



ANC UNDERGROUND EXPLODES INTO ACTION

The African National Congress underground apparatus burst into simultaneous action recently to startle the police and break into the headlines of South Africa's newspapers. In Cape Town, an explosive device sent leaflets flying out in the wind from the rooftop of a bank. At the same time a tape recorder spoke to the people from the rooftop of the non-White section of the Railway station. A passing ex-Rhodesian police officer reported to the Railway Police who found on a ledge above the entrance a paper bag containing the tape recorder which was chained to a pole. The chain had to be cut before the recorder could be removed. The police officer said, "I've seen excited crowds in my time, and this was one of them."

The leaflets were issued by the illegal African National

Congress and Umkhonto we Sizwe – The Spear of the Nation, the guerrilla wing of the A.N.C.

At the same time, hundreds of leaflets were scattered in Port Elizabeth in at least two places. They were found in Pinchin Lane and in Strand Street, both places near Non White bus terminuses. Police frantically seized as many of the leaflets as they could but a strong wind blew many away to be picked up and carried away by passers-by. Police searched people in the vicinity and threatened them that possession of the pamphlet was illegal. Further reports are that similar methods were used in Johannesburg, and East London. The pamphlets were printed on fine rice paper designed to catch the wind easily for a wide distribution. The full text of the leaflets and of the broadcasts are given below.

**THESE MEN
ARE OUR BROTHERS;
OUR SONS.
THEY FIGHT
FOR THE FREEDOM
OF THE
PEOPLE.**



THE ENEMY CALL THEM TERRORISTS

They are called: Terrorists – Saboteurs – Agitators – Abagrogisi – Abashokhobezi. They try to destroy us by swear-words because they fear what we really are – Freedom Fighters!

In all history whenever men have fought for freedom they have been called names: In Algeria they were called terrorists; in Vietnam they were called bandits; in Kenya they were called criminal gangs, and in Southern Africa – in Angola, Mocambique, Zimbabwe and in South Africa itself – those who refuse to say "Ja baas" are also called names, by the enemy.

**WHO ARE THE
REAL BANDITS?**

Those who stole the land and its wealth and who came with gun in hand to make us strangers in our own country!

**WHO ARE THE
REAL TERRORISTS?**

Those who have used the gun, the sjambok, the baton to terrorise our people into accepting a life of poverty and humiliation!

**YES – THE REAL TERRORISTS,
THE REAL CRIMINAL GANGS,
THE REAL ABAGROGRISI,
THE REAL ABASHOKHOBEZI
ARE THOSE WHO RULE.
IT IS THE GOVERNMENT.**

They could not last a day without their terror weapons and their terror law.
The enemy knows and understands the power of a freedom fight once it has taken root amongst the people.
They have seen it in Vietnam, in Algeria, in Cuba and in many other places. They have seen bigger and better armies than theirs with more power than theirs brought to defeat by a freedom struggle.

**BECAUSE THEY KNOW THIS
THEY FEAR THE FREEDOM FIGHTER
– AND HIS LIFEBLOOD –
THE SUPPORT OF THE PEOPLE**

That is why they call us names and spread lies about our liberation forces.
That is why they spread lies about other parts of Africa where black men have taken power.
That is why they are afraid of the word **FREEDOM FIGHTER**.
That is why they keep our leaders like Mandela and Sisulu locked up.

**IT IS THEY
WHO RULE BY TERROR.
A FREEDOM FIGHTER LEARNS
TO FIGHT AND DEFEAT
THIS TERROR.**

A Freedom Fighter understands the enemy and learns the new ways of organising resistance against white tyranny.
A Freedom Fighter organises those around him to resist the enemy, to deal with his agents.
A Freedom Fighter carefully prepares organisation and resources for the day when the armed struggle makes new demands.
ABOVE ALL
A Freedom Fighter is ready to give his life in the fight for freedom against the real terrorists who keep us chained.

**THE FREEDOM FIGHTER
IS NOT THE ONLY
TRAINED GUERRILLA
OF UMKHONTO
WE SIZWE**

**EVERY MAN, EVERY WOMAN, EVERY WORKER, EVERY YOUTH CAN HELP IN
THE FREEDOM STRUGGLE.**
**WHEREVER YOU ARE YOU MUST FIND THE WAY OF ORGANISING THOSE
AROUND YOU. IF YOU ARE CAREFUL AND WORK CLEVERLY YOU WILL
CHEAT THE ENEMY AND MAKE THE TASK OF HIS POLICE AND AGENTS
MORE DIFFICULT.**
ALL MUST WORK TO END THE WHITE TERROR!
THERE CAN BE NO LIBERATION WITHOUT SACRIFICE!
STUDY! ORGANISE! ACT!



The Morogoro Conference

Recently, at Morogoro in Tanzania, members of the African National Congress and units of Umkhonto we Sizwe based outside South Africa met in conference. The conference studied the enemy, his strength and his weakness. It examined the struggle, its record and achievements, and its targets for the future. It decided that:

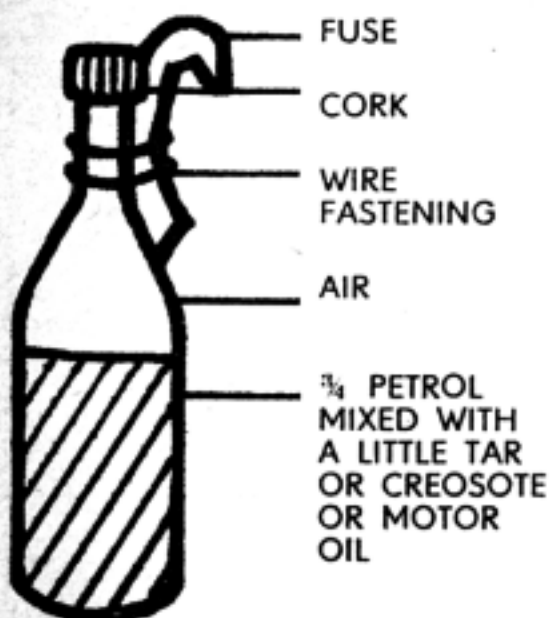
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2. The alliance with ZAPU, the freedom fighters of Zimbabwe, Rhodesia, will be strengthened. Smith is allied with Vorster, and apartheid has spread to Rhodesia. The freedom fighters of Zimbabwe are fighting our enemy, and we theirs, for white domination in Southern Africa is the enemy of all the African people of the sub-continent. Unity is strength, unity in armed struggle means victory for the African freedom movement.
3. Inside South Africa patriots must mobilise for the resistance against apartheid and in preparation for armed struggle. We must build secret and underground units of the ANC. We must build them strong, but safe from the Special Branch, and the informer.
4. We must prepare for the sharpening of the struggle. We must store weapons. We must watch the enemy, note his habits and his movements so that we can catch him unawares.
5. We must intensify the international campaign against South Africa's apartheid regime because this helps to weaken our enemy.
6. We must rally, Africans, Indians, Coloureds and democratic Whites for the overthrow of apartheid and the building of a new society of equality and democracy



for all. We are united on policy. We must be united in struggle. Freedom is a matter of struggle.

"These are the orders", said Acting President-General Oliver Tambo "to our people, to our youth, to our army, to every soldier. These are the orders to our leaders. **Close ranks.** Wage relentless war against disruptors and enemy agents. Defend the revolution against enemy lies and enemy propaganda, whatever form it takes. Be vigilant. The enemy is vigilant. Beware the wedgedriver - men who creep from ear to ear, driving wedges among us. We must face the enemy united, for our unity is what the enemy fears. He fears our members for we are many and he is few. He seeks to divide us in order to weaken us. But we, the people, must make our numerical superiority count and that is why we must stand united, and face the enemy as one. **THIS IS THE WAY TO WIN OUR FREEDOM**".

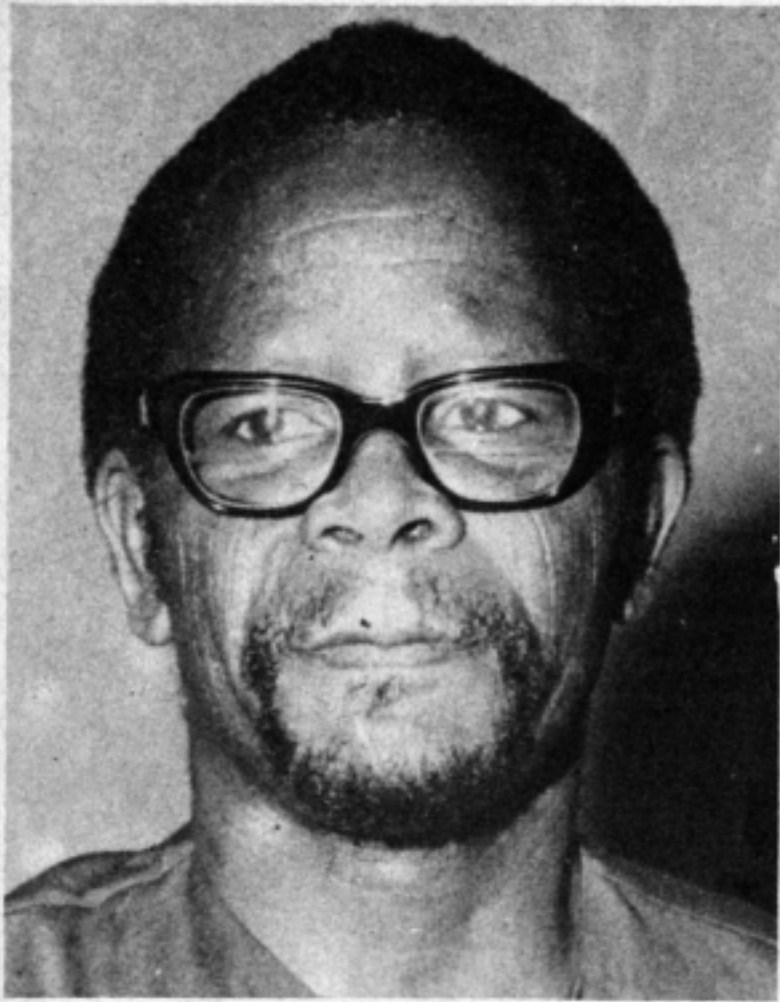
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Oliver
Tambo

What is Guerrilla Warfare?

At Morogoro, for the first time at a conference of the African National Congress, the delegates included Umkhonto we Sizwe fighting men who have been in action against the enemy. They have fought with gun in hand, and they saw the enemy run more than once. They will fight again, and again, and in the end we will defeat the enemy. Not in one battle, but in many. Not overnight, but in our time. Not in the place or the way the enemy decides, but the way we decide. For this is guerilla warfare, and since this is the way we will struggle for our freedom in South Africa, the people of our country must know the skills of guerilla warfare, use them, master them, and be victorious through them.

How can the African freedom movement beat the armed terror of White apartheid, you might ask, with the military machine of the Defence Force, the Police the Armed Reserves, the Special Branch?

Guerilla warfare is the answer, because guerilla warfare is the weapon of the oppressed against the armed might of a powerful enemy.

It is long drawn-out war. The guerilla strikes when the enemy is unprepared, and where the enemy is weak. These will not be battles of armies face to face, but hundreds of surprise attacks by freedom-fighters who will hit where the enemy is weak, retreat when he fights back, take cover to re-organise, and prepare to launch the next surprise attack. Guerilla fighters are not armies in uniform, but fighters of the people, who melt into the people or the countryside when the enemy searches for them, and are hidden by the people, because they fight for the cause of freedom of the people.

The skill of the freedom fighter is to know the weakness of the enemy, and the strength of the people.

The skill of the freedom fighter is to be true to the sufferings and the needs of the people, for he is of the people.

The skill of the freedom fighter is to ambush the enemy when he is not looking.

The skill of the freedom fighter is to capture guns from the enemy.

The skill of the freedom fighter is not to be seen and known by the enemy as a freedom fighter, but to fight from secret places in unexpected ways.

The guerilla war will start in the countryside. Not everywhere at once, but here, and there, and then somewhere else. There will be freedom fighters with guns. Beside them must be the freedom-fighters of the village, the farm, the reserve, later even the town, who will strengthen the men with the guns with their own methods against the enemy.

WE MUST KNOW THE ENEMY BETTER THAN HE KNOWS US. WE MUST WATCH FOR HIS WEAK POINTS, AND TURN THEM AGAINST HIM. WE MUST BE VIGILANT AGAINST HIS AGENTS, HIS GOOD BOYS, HIS SPIES, THE TRAITORS IN OUR RANKS, SO THEY CAN NEVER BETRAY OUR PLANS. WE MUST DISCOVER THE PLANS OF THE ENEMY SO THE FREEDOM-FIGHTER WILL KNOW THEM IN TIME. WE MUST WIN THE SUPPORT OF ALL THE OPPRESSED NON-WHITE MASSES – AFRICAN, INDIAN AND COLOURED.

The oppressors are few, their army and their police force, their commissioners and their spies cannot be everywhere at once. But the people are many and the people are everywhere, and the freedom-fighters are of the people, and must be protected by the people. This is the way guerilla warfare has won. In Vietnam. In Cuba. And in Africa, in Mocambique and Angola, to the north of South Africa, where the freedom-fighters are punishing the Portuguese colonial army in the field. The Portuguese forces bomb; the freedom-fighters have scattered for cover. The enemy rushes fresh troops to the field; the freedom fighters blow up the railway and the road. The enemy lays new plans for attacks but the plans are carried to the freedom fighters, for they have ears and eyes everywhere.

Guerilla warfare is peoples' war against the oppressor, and our freedom-fighters are everywhere, not only among the fighting men.

Guerilla warfare succeeds because it scatters the enemy and the more he scatters, the more he loses strength. Already Vorster's men are fighting in Rhodesia and helping the Portuguese in Mocambique and Angola. This is not a sign of greater strength but of coming weakness. Apartheid rules by terror and armed might, but such armies cannot be everywhere at once, and the guerrillas can, for they are of the people, and the people are everywhere.

YOU, TOO, ARE FREEDOM-FIGHTERS, EVERYWHERE WE MUST PREPARE FOR STRUGGLE. FORM UNDERGROUND UNITS OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, IN THE RESERVES, IN THE COUNTRYSIDE, IN THE TOWNS, IN THE FACTORIES, IN THE TOWNSHIPS, AMONG THE STUDENTS AND THE YOUTH. WE NEED UNDERGROUND RESISTANCE ORGANISATION; WE NEED NEW FIGHTERS FOR FREEDOM, NEW WAYS OF STRUGGLE SO THAT WE MAY STRIKE WHEN WE ARE READY.

**DOWN WITH APARTHEID TERROR!
FORWARD TO FREEDOM!**

UNDERGROUND BROADCAST

VOICE: This is the African National Congress. This is the African National Congress. This is the Voice of Freedom. The ANC speaks to You!

Africa! Africa! Mayibuye!

SINGING OF THE NATIONAL ANTHEM (NKOSI SIKELE LE AFRIKA and MORENA BOLOKE)



Nelson
Mandela

VOICE: The time has come. This Government of slavery, this Government of oppression, this Apartheid monster must be removed from power and crushed by the People! It must be removed by force! They will never stop the pass raids, the arrests, the beatings, the killings . . . they will continue to drive us out of our homes like dogs and send us to rot in the so-called Bantu homelands, they will continue to pay us miserable slave wages, and treat us as their beasts of burden until the day we beat them up and crush white rule! This land of ours was taken away by bloodshed. We will regain it by bloodshed. Sons and daughters of Afrika, you in your millions who have toiled to make this country rich, the ANC calls upon you – NEVER submit to white oppression – NEVER give up the Freedom Struggle – find ways of organising those around you – the African National Congress calls you to be ready – to be ready for war! You will soon learn how to make a petrol bomb. You will also learn how to shoot a gun. You must learn how to outwit the enemy, his spies and informers, and organise those around you. We are many, they are few. Our Coloured and Indian brothers must do the same. You must organise your people to fight the ghettos and all the racial laws and in support of the armed struggle. We say to the enemy that we will not be bluffed by your toy parliaments like Matanzima's, like the Coloured Council and like the Indian Council.

We want freedom now! REAL FREEDOM! But the whites will not give it to us. We have to take it. We have to take it by violence. We fight a guerrilla war.

A guerilla war is not a war of big armies. We have no big army. We organise ourselves into small groups. We attack the enemy suddenly when he is not expecting us. We kill them and we take their guns and we disappear. Our brave young men have shown the way in their heroic battles in Rhodesia. Today they fight in Rhodesia, tomorrow they will fight in South Africa.

The African National Congress calls upon you to prepare for the guerilla war, the war of liberation. The ANC calls upon you to help our young men, our freedom fighters. We organise ourselves into small groups, we carry guns, suddenly we attack the enemy, we kill them and we take their weapons and we hide away . . . the forests, the mountains, the countryside, the People hide the young men. Everyone

Contd. on next Page

RIOT IN CAPETOWN AFTER AFRICAN IS SHOT

Soon after the leaflet distribution, a protracted disturbance developed in the African township of Langa in Cape Town after a policeman had shot and killed one African and seriously wounded another.

A senior police officer said the incident began when the patrolling policeman got out of his vehicle to ask to see the passbook of an African. The man did not produce the document, which all Africans must carry, and, according to the senior officer, the constable tried to arrest him.

Another African joined in the struggle and an attempt was made to take the constable's revolver, whereupon he opened fire, killing the man he had originally stopped and seriously wounding the other, the senior officer said.

Although it was quite late at night, a crowd of more than 100 gathered and tried to prevent the police from removing the body. Stones and bottles were thrown and it took about 50 police to restore calm. A Government official's car was hit by a stone. Langa township, an area inhabited exclusively by Africans under the racial segregation laws, was the scene of disturbances at the time of the Sharpeville shooting in 1960.

"I'D BE HAPPY TO HANG" – SABOTEUR

Bulawayo. – After being convicted of attempted sabotage, an African schoolteacher and member of the banned Zimbabwe African People's Union told a Bulawayo High Court judge yesterday: "When I leave jail I will continue to fight."

"I ask for no mercy and I would be quite happy to be sentenced to death" added the man whose name was withheld from the press.

He was jailed for nine years by Mr. Justice Harry Davies for setting fire to a post office at nearby Pumula Township on September 14, 1966.

The man said ZAPU wanted to sit down with Whites and solve Rhodesia's political crisis.

"If we failed to get the country peacefully, we would appeal to the world to stop business with Rhodesia, and to our people to strike and paralyse industries."

MOSCOW

In a statement to the police the man said he and 12 others went to Moscow in 1967 and trained in the use of arms. They also studied political science and espionage.

He said he and another man fled Rhodesia after the petrol bombing of the post office.

They sought political asylum in Botswana, but were arrested and detained together with members of the South African National Congress.

He went to Zambia after his release and crossed into Rhodesia from Zambia in May, this year, to organise members for ZAPU.

of you can help in this fight. **Everyone can be a freedom fighter.** In your factory, in your school, on the land, in your church – wherever you are amongst the People – you must find a way of organising those around you. If you work carefully you will be able to cheat the enemy and his spies and informers. You must be prepared. You must be ready to sacrifice. We refuse to live on our knees. We refuse to say "Ja Baas".

We must prepare to rise against the white oppressor. Nelson Mandela said he was prepared to die for the freedom of our People. What do you say my dear young brother, my dear young sister? **Sons of Sekhukuni, Sons of Shaka, Sons of Hintsa, Sons of Mshoeshoe . . . the time has come. Freedom lovers of South Africa the time to fight has come.** This is the message the African National Congress brings to you. You must learn how to outwit the enemy and organise those around you. The enemy fears our organised might. **We are many, the whites are few. We must find ways to organise our People.**

They pay us low wages because our skins are black, whilst the whites live in luxury. At work, in the factories, the mines, the docks, the offices, the kitchens, the fields, the railways, the roads, we demand equal pay for equal work NOW! They charge us high rents, high taxes, high fares on the trains and buses, we must demand a better life NOW! They give our children inferior education. We demand proper education that will enable our young people to be equal to other young people in the world. Our young people must be taught how to fly jet aeroplanes and how to fly the sputniks.

In the school, our young people must organise to resist Bantu Education. We demand free and equal education for all our children NOW! The whites have taken away the land of our People in the countryside, and have forced them to give up their cattle. We must resist the Matanzima stooges, we must resist the Bantu Authorities Act in the countryside. We want our land back. Our young men with guns will fight for it in the countryside. They will deal with the stooges and informers, the police and the white soldiers. Our People in the countryside must be told of their coming.

They must hide and feed our freedom fighters, they must make their path easy and the enemy's path hard. **The African National Congress calls upon our People to prepare for guerrilla warfare, the People's War of Liberation, NOW!** Guerrilla war has brought victory to the people of Algeria, to the people of Cuba, to the people of Vietnam. Those people did not have big armies. They were like us. Guerrilla fighters organise themselves in small groups.

You sons and daughters of the soil, you must consider yourselves as soldiers in the guerrilla war. There are many ways to be a freedom fighter. You will soon learn how to make a petrol bomb. You will also learn how to shoot a gun. You must learn how to outwit the enemy and organise those around you.

Our brave men of Umkonto we Sizwe have shown the way. They fought heroically in Zimbabwe. They will fight in South Africa. You must start to find places where you can hide the weapons you might come across. You must have secret addresses of your reliable friends who will agree to hide you or your weapons or other freedom fighters. You must be ready to sacrifice. You must start now to find hiding places. The countryside, the bush, the forest the mountain – these will also become your secret addresses. The time has come. the African National Congress calls upon you to organise and to prepare. **Death to racialism! Mayibuy' Africa! Amandla!**

Ke Nako. THIS IS IT! CLOSE RANKS!
SINGING of FREEDOM SONGS.

SPECIAL PROBLEMS OF GUERRILLA WAR FOR WHITE SOUTH AFRICA

The removal of battle casualties and provision of medical supplies are the main problem facing the frontier-line officer in fighting against "terrorism", the South African Medical Congress was told recently. Addressing a sub-plenary session on medical care in modern warfare, Brig.O. du Preez of the Surgeon General's Office, discussed the medical care problems occurring when two forces engaged without a defined fighting line or a clear front which could be defended or from which attacks could be launched.

In conventional warfare there was a relatively protected base behind the lines where casualties could be handled, but unconventional warfare produced problems in connection with effective treatment in the combat zone. The type of country chosen by terrorists was thick bushveld such as the Transvaal Lowveld, which increased the difficulty of providing medical care. The climate was extremely hot, causing a high incidence of heat exhaustion. Tropical diseases, such as Malta fever and malaria had to be contended with, and proper hygiene was difficult to maintain, thus increasing the risks of epidemics.

NO HOSPITALS

Because the terrain was remote there were no established hospitals in the combat area and the nearest hospitals were hundreds of miles away. The medical officer had to make do with existing houses or buildings in the area as shelter. Tents or improvised structures could be used but in all cases it was impossible to keep the facilities aseptic.

The type of wounds suffered also differed from conventional warfare where conventional weapons were used. Besides a rifle the guerrilla used mines and offensive methods such as hidden spikes in the ground, sharp sticks, and reeds coated with substances which cause severe infection.

Because of the nature of the climate all wounds were either septic or potentially so and the movement of casualties was difficult because ambulances had to travel through country in which the enemy could make a sudden appearance.

HARD TO FIND

There was also the problem of finding casualties in the bush and wounded men had been known to be alone for up to 24 hours before help arrived. In Vietnam the Americans used helicopters for the removal of the wounded but since helicopters had an important tactical use they could not be used exclusively as flying ambulances. It was essential to strive for the appointment of front line medical officers who had sound training in general practice and a wide experience in both surgery and medicine.

Every soldier's life was much more important than tanks and aircraft, brigadier du Preez said.

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID



Spotlight
on a Police State

AGONY IN MARRIAGE

A 21-year-old mother of two was recently found guilty under the Immorality Act because she lived with her husband. The magistrate said the couple were guilty because Mrs. Furlong had been issued with a Coloured identity card and her husband carries a white identity card. They had gone to England to get married. After the hearing Mrs. Furlong packed her personal belongings and those of her two children aged 2 years and 3 months and moved to the home of her parents-in-law.

Over the past few years the couple have experienced the agony of trying to get married in South Africa and the horror of police probing into their private affairs. At 3 a.m. while Mrs. Furlong was breast-feeding the younger child, the police burst in and shone a torch in her face. They demanded to see the couple's passports, marriage certificate and identity cards.

The harassment continued over the months until three days before the trial when they were roused at 4 a.m. by a policeman who felt their bed, pulled the bedding aside and questioned them. They were taken to the police station at 5 a.m. where they were finger-printed and particulars about their features marked down

on a card. Mrs. Furlong had to push back her hair so they could see her ears.

Nurses Strike

Non-white nurses at the Coronation Hospital recently staged a short strike when their white colleagues (who do the same training and write the same examinations) were given salary increases which were not extended to the non-white nurses.

Starvation Wages

In a report issued by the Bureau of Statistics concerning servants in the 9 major cities of South Africa, it is stated that the worst paid servants in these major areas, are the gardeners of Durban who were paid R8.71 monthly. In Bloemfontein Nursemaids were paid R9.81 per month.

Endorsed out

Mrs. Janet Gwala, a Johannesburg widow, has been endorsed out of South Africa to Lesotho. In order to get permission to stay with her family - for she has been told that she may not take her South African-born children to Lesotho - she must have proof that she herself was born in South Africa, in 1919.

Suicide

For the past six months Tswen Mofokeng has encountered pass difficulties. "He decided to stay home because he was scared that he would either be arrested for failing to report at the labour offices or be endorsed out of Johannesburg, (his hometown)", said his elderly father.

But 23 year old Tswen will have no pass trouble in future - HE HANGED HIMSELF.

£ 75 for a Work Permit

Thousands of Natal rural Africans, desperately trying to dodge influx control laws to find employment in urban areas, are being duped into buying false documents for enormous amounts. An African living illegally in Kwa Mashu, Durban, admitted that he had paid his life-savings of R150 (£75) to obtain a permit to enable him to work in Durban. Pass forgers have a team of contact men who visit beerhalls and sell forged passes to squatters.

30,000 'Single' men

About 54,000 people are being moved from Alexandra Township, Johannesburg over the next 6 years. The township will be turned into a hostel town housing 30,000 "single" African men and women.

Don't Marry

Mr. Con Botha, Nationalist M. P. C. for Newcastle, told a Natal audience that if Africans are forbidden to live in the same area, they are foolish to get married, and if they committed this folly, they and not the laws were at fault.



PORTRAIT OF THE ENEMY



JAN HAAK-
MINISTER OF ECONOMIC AFFAIRS

HAAK = Hook, Crook (Afrikaans Dictionary)

No one in the South African Cabinet is better fitted to tell how much it can profit a man to gain the world without having a soul to lose than the Hon. Jan Fredrick Willem Haak, B.A., LL.B., the Minister of Economic Affairs.

Born in Prince Albert, Cape, in 1917, he graduated in 1939 at Stellenbosch University whose head student he had been. He practiced as an attorney in Bellville, Cape Town, for ten years and at the Cape Bar for two years and skipping rapidly over the stepping stones of a Bellville Municipal Councillorship, membership of the Parow School Board and a stint on the Nationalist Party Head Committee (Cape) he was elected M.P. for Bellville in 1953.

He has accumulated a plethora of directorships and shares in companies some enjoying Government inspired concessions and licences – for minerals, fishing etc.

From Deputy Minister of Planning, Economic Affairs and Mines he graduated to Minister of Mines and Planning, and is now Minister of Economic Affairs.

In 30 years of political life, Jan Haak has never been guilty of making a memorable utterance. He is not a grey but a gilded nonentity who believes that a Cabinet Minister's best friend is diamonds.

Involved, in June 1969, in a company with Government patronage and a contract to sell proteas at all airports, he

pleaded that this was an exercise in (Cape) culture. Whence his meteoric rise, his evolution from small town lawyer to the smooth manipulator of lucrative contacts and a seat near the top of the Ministerial table? After an apprenticeship as a peddler of bus apartheid for the Cape Peninsula and curfews for Africans, he won Bellville as a Nationalist constituency.

Although a Cape M.P., he supported Dr. H. F. Verwoerd in the power struggle against Dr. E. Dinges (the Cape leader) for the Premiership when J. G. Strydom died, and, more recently Dr. John Vorster against the ageing Ben Schoeman.

His rich rewards have fallen into his lap. While Vorster is having men flogged, Haak is counting his blessings, Rand by Rand.

The huge Bellville gaol with its hundreds of prisoners is in his constituency.

In a police state notorious for electric torture, brutal floggings, deaths and suicides of prisoners, Haak's sole protest has been about the low wages of white warders and policemen, and the dangerous nature of the work of these merchants of death and sadism.

MOSELEY'S COLLABORATOR

No matter the shattered lives of innocent prisoners, hopelessly broken in mind and body.

To the Haaks, there is not even the crucial problem of ends and means – only the latter is meaningful in their lives. He is one of the junior architects of the gigantic and vicious fraud of the (semi-demi) independent Bantustans.

He and his colleagues, blatantly casting aside all pretences that the Bantustans shall build up their own industries, are offering new and more powerful lures to white industrialists to erect factories – near the borders of the Bantustans – on a so-called agency basis with the cheapest of black labour drawn from these 'Reserves'.

In Septemebr 1962 William Webster, the envoy of the British Fascist leader, Sir Oswald Moseley, visited South Africa to raise £100,000 from sympathisers in order to put up money for Mosleyite candidates in the next British elections. He obtained audience with Jan Haak, then Deputy Minister of Economic Affairs, who furnished him with the names of 100 leading exporters who were doing business with the U.K. – from official Government records.

William Webster declared – "The Nationalists have the right idea. They are following the same path as Hitler did. They are going slowly now but they will smash their enemies in the end."

Haak-Hitler-Hess: They share initials and ideas.

British politician Mr. Victor Goodhew urged South Africa's inclusion in a world defence system, either by extending North Atlantic Treaty Organisation or through a South Atlantic Treaty Organisation linked with N.A.T.O. He said a southern grouping might include Argentina, Brazil, Britain, North America, South Africa, Australia and New Zealand.

SAPA-REUTER



NOTES

OF A

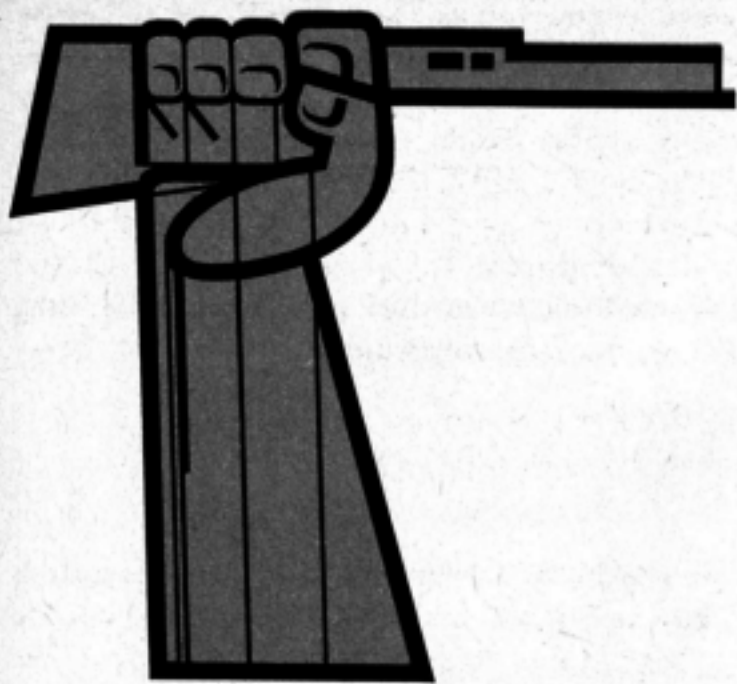
GUERRILLA

In our November issue we published the personal account of one of our guerrillas who participated in what has become known as the Eastern Front Campaign in Zimbabwe. Below are extracts from a statement by V.M. a veteran of the great Wankie battles in which the exemplary discipline and valour of the ANC-ZAPU Freedom Fighters aroused world wide interest.

In South Africa the frantic measures being taken by the Vorster regime to counter guerrilla activity is in no small measure due to the crushing blows our men delivered in these early encounters.

After detailing his long stay in Zimbabwe, V.M. a combatant in the first ZAPU-ANC detachment inside the country states . . .

All along the excitement of meeting the enemy was very high amongst us. We had forgotten everything but the enemy. In the early morning some of the comrades went to a shop to get something to reinforce our food supplies. They brought all they could manage to get. We moved very fast through the village. We left it far behind us and



moved towards the main road to Wankie. As the day was breaking we quickly sought a spot where we could camp for the day. This we had no difficulty in finding. We deployed ourselves as usual. The expected contact with the enemy was not to be even then. We had not seen a single enemy soldier.

In the late afternoon we prepared for the next night's march. We marched on in the evening. So dense and bushy was the forest that we could hardly make any progress, until we were forced to move along the road for some time. We went back into the bush and moved on. In the night we crossed a narrow tarred road and entered an agricultural area. We moved in an unploughed field and passed an uninhabited house. Soon thereafter we found a comparatively good area for camping. During the day we shaved, cut our hair, washed some small things and cooked ourselves a soup. Beyond the river valley we could clearly see the movement of trucks along the road. The 'Z' River was near by and it had not dried up as yet. Nearby also was a young boy who was looking after cattle. We hid away from him the whole day. We continued our march in the evening. Having crossed the 'Z' River at a fordable point, the rearguard got separated from the main detachment through misinterpretation of orders. This was quickly rectified. When we joined the main body near the road, we arranged ourselves to cross the road in sections with guards on both sides. Enemy trucks were passing along the road at intervals of two to three minutes. We successfully crossed the road, in the intervals accorded by the traffic. The tension of meeting the enemy at the road subsided. We soon entered a ploughed sandy area over the other end of the road. We passed it. Normally our rests were at an hour's interval but this by and large was dictated by the circumstances. More often than not some of the men used to fall asleep during a short rest through sheer exhaustion. We were not yet accustomed to the life we had entered, and the constant expectation of the enemy robbed some of us of time to sleep during the day. This was, however, gradually overcome as time went on.

Elephant and Lion Tracks

As time went on we entered an area that was apparently constituted of farms. At one of the rest breaks one of our comrades whilst on movement reported having lost his rifle. We delayed and sent him back together with two other comrades to look for it. They could not find it. He asked for permission to use a torchlight. This we could not allow in the vicinity of the detachment. He

assured us that he could not get lost as he had a compass and that he will catch up soon with the main body. We moved on whilst he went back. We moved towards the railway line. A train passed. We followed a dry river until we reached the railwayline, where we crossed to the trees. We went on as fast as we could. We proceeded more to the west so that we could reach the game reserve as soon as possible. We chose a spot in the early morning for a brief sleep about two and a half to three miles from the railway line. Elephant and lion tracks were in abundance in this area. Water was not a problem. The terrain was deceptive in that it had no clear landmarks. Trees were alike in the majority of cases. This in a way was countered by keeping together as much as we could. When the sun set we proceeded in a south-west direction. We moved along a considerably burnt area. Wild animals were there. The place we were moving across was hilly and mountainous. On one of these hills we spotted the lights of a village. We camped down a dry river valley for that day and we found some water nearby. We managed to wash ourselves and some clothing and also cooked the last remnants of our crusty biscuits with soup. Some of our comrades attempted to kill a buffalo but were unsuccessful.

We Swam and washed Ourselves

We proceeded in the evening down the hill, sometimes going down on our backs. We bypassed some deserted bushman huts in the forest. We went on until we reached a rather big river bed that was drying up but still had some water. Here we washed ourselves and our clothing. Some comrades even swam. In the late afternoon a kudu was killed by one of our snipers. We delayed here for the whole night preparing the meat. We were in real need of food – most of our supplies had run out by then. We left this spot only the following morning. Soon thereafter we avoided what appeared to be a game camp, crossed a gravel road that was in use and moved along a dry ravine up to a spot where we rested. It was at this spot that we separated with some of our comrades that were going to operate at some other point of Zimbabwe. Amongst these comrades there was comrade Pietersen who subsequently broke off from the group and proceeded down south according to the demands of his assignment. By then we had long realised that we were deep in the game reserve, and we had adjusted our movement accordingly. We moved in the evening for the whole night without any sign of water or people. There were only old tracks of animals. We looked for water on the following day using the tracks of elephants as a guide. This never led us to anything on that particular day. Instead we became more thirsty than we were before. At this juncture we yearned for the nearest spot where we could find people. We were in desperate need for them. We consulted our poor map time and again as if it could solve our problems. But to our disappointment it could hardly show us where we were.

Zebra for Supper

Despite all these difficulties we never for a moment lost hope that we will soon enter an inhabited area. In the evening we went on without a halt until on the following morning we found a water pan, by chance. We camped around that area for the day and drank our fill. Fortunately for us this pan was frequented by wild game. We were greatly agitated when one of us missed two wild pigs. At sunset when we were starting to move some ze-

bras were seen. The detachment commander and another comrade went for them. One of them was sniped through the heart. We were overjoyed by this achievement and hastily skinned and roasted the meat. Believe it or not, up to this day most of us are still speaking about the zebra meat. We can still feel the taste of its meat. Though we were sorry to leave behind a greater part of the meat, we carried in our knapsacks as much as we could.

On the following morning we camped in a dry area, looked for water for the next two days in vain. Our throats were dry. This greatly tortured us. We longed for the day when we could reach people. There were no longer any animals in sight and not even a sign that there could possibly be any. In the evening we moved on and camped near a dry water bed. Nearby there was another that was muddy. We drank the muddy water. In the day three of us were sent on reconnaissance . . . Looking for water and signs of people. We were hardly 500 yards from the detachment when a plane appeared. We took cover. After it passed we continued. This we dismissed as a game spotting plane. A few miles from our area we saw a road moving from east to west, crossed it and moved on.

Charged by angry Elephants

We soon found another road leading southward. Not far from this we found a water pan. It had some water. We drank and took a rest. There were no signs of people around the area except for the tracks of a vehicle. This gave us hope. This was about 8-10 miles from the detachment. We sought a point where the 2 roads met and found it. There we also found a borehole that was not in use. From the north to the east the road was in use though not frequently. We went back to the detachment to report. We got lost. We had moved too much to the west. We searched the whole day long. In the evening we fired from our guns simultaneously. Instead of getting a reply from our comrades we were charged by angry elephants. We ran out of their way. Most fortunately they did not follow us for long. We made a fire and slept. Early in the morning we went to the pan and traced our footprints back to the detachment. We moved the whole day until we found our comrades at about five in the

evening. They were preparing to move and were happy to see us. We were offered the last remnants of the zebra. The weight of our loads was considerably reduced. We led the detachment to the roads we had seen. We soon camped in its vicinity. By now we had nothing to eat. Some of our snipers could only manage to get us three birds about the size of doves. These we shared amongst us equally and drank their soup that was hardly anything more than boiled water. This nevertheless refreshed us.

Dried Fruit Soup

We detailed some scouts as we moved southerly following the road. It was sandy but we moved as fast as we could, with short rests. We found this road on our map. The following morning we camped at a place where there was nothing but dry wild fruit which we cooked with the little water we had left. We derived some energy from this. We camped on the following morning without any hope of either meeting any people or finding anything to eat. When evening came we found ourselves just strong enough to carry the knapsacks. We were thin and dirty. We were contorted with hunger. Even under such circumstances the morale and determination of the detachment was never shaken even for a moment.

We all cherished the hope that we will reach home and carry on the armed struggle. In spite of the weight on our backs we never once thought of reducing our ammunition which was vitally needed in the battle we were on the way to stage. Our dreams were ever with our oppressed people. Our hearts were filled with their love. The difficulties that we met were but the realisation that there was no easy way to freedom.

The following evening we moved on and the next day we separated ourselves in different groups and went out hunting. We were in desperate need for food. All the groups returned empty handed. The situation was saved later that day when two of our snipers shot a guinea fowl and seven doves.

That evening we heard over our transistor radio that the comrades we had parted with had clashed with the enemy and that the enemy was combing the game reserve looking for a group of about 30 people heading for South



Africa. We later heard as well that some of us were (falsely) alleged to be stopping cars between Figtree and Bulwayo wearing bush uniform. Another report was that four of our comrades were arrested in Botswana. This news never scared us. We became more vigilant. We went on. After some days, we stopped near the road, not far from a dam. A herd of buffaloes was seen there and this was reported to the detachment. When an arrangement was made to get one of the buffaloes, a spotter plane appeared flying very low. It scared them away. Two of our snipers were left behind to await their return. No sooner had the group from the dam arrived at the detachment than a convoy of enemy trucks appeared, stopping directly opposite us – about 50 yards away. It is hard to believe that they did not see us. A white officer got off the truck and looked around for traces of us and commanded: "Forward Jack". He got in and they pulled off. The truck was moving almost without a sound on the sandy road. In the forward truck there were about 10 in the back with a heavy machine gun. The truck was also pulling an artillery piece. Five more trucks appeared with about 5 men each at the back.

Our Presence Discovered

Soon thereafter some shooting was heard at the dam. The spotter plane became very active. As soon as we got a chance we changed our positions and took all-round defence. Cover was a problem; the terrain was rather too open. Later in the area we heard a helicopter and an additional spotter plane appeared.

Obviously our presence in the area was discovered.

They moved above the area we were in throughout the day, searching.

In the evening we sent a strong group to look for our snipers. They got lost and looked for them until the following morning and returned without them. Cover did not allow us to change positions. The planes continued their activities. In the evening we went on without a drop of water. On the march we tried to catch a porcupine without avail. We again camped in the game reserve. One of our comrades was beginning to show signs of physical strain. He had difficulty in carrying his knapsack. We distributed his belongings amongst us. Planes were still combing the area. At sunset we moved on. The comrade



who was weak found it even more difficult to walk. We assisted him all the way. At last we came across a wire fence and we realised that we were going out of the game reserve.

Outside the reserve there was a dirt road that was heavily patrolled by military trucks. We destroyed our footprints carefully and moved on as fast as we could. We were now 7 full days without anything to eat. Early in the morning of the next day we heard the crowing of cocks at a nearby cattle post. We were overjoyed by this obvious sign of people.

Early in the morning we took up combat positions. The terrain was not favourable, cover was difficult to find. Anyway we did our best to camouflage our positions. Two comrades were sent to the cattle post. They brought back a big tin of sour milk and some porridge. These were mixed together and we feasted. We learnt that the enemy was looking for us high and low. It was offering a sum of £50 for information that could lead to our capture. People in the area were being given cigarettes to try to win them over to the side of the government. There was a nearby military camp and offices of the District Commissioner. The village was also not far away.

Encounter with the Enemy

Not long after we had had the sour milk some shots were heard from the enemy against some sections of our detachment. The shouts of surrender were audibly heard. "Surrender!" "Habanza chaita!" (You are finished!) shouted an enemy officer. This was completely ignored. Instead it was answered by a barrage of fire from our side. The fact that the enemy had come into sight was enough. Nobody could stand it any further. No command was needed. In the course of the fight an enemy officer was heard to warn: "The enemy is slipping down – prepare grenades". He was riddled with bullets. The commanders rallied the men to where there was fighting. The enemy was routed on the spot and was sent flying all over the place. They left all they had behind. They did not even have a chance to put off their radios. We opened fire at the spotter plane as it flew low enough. It went away for ever. The next thing we heard was the enemy reporting over the radios which were still on, that we had fired at the spotter plane. A helicopter circled around the battle scene trying to contact the unit we had routed. Whilst some of us were collecting the things left by the enemy, some attended to our four dead and two wounded. A proper burial was organised for them under the battle conditions that existed. Casualties on the side of the enemy were two white officers, lieutenants, an African Sergeant-Major, and 15 privates dead.

Captured Armaments

We got a number of FN rifles, automatic sub-machine guns and a Bren light machine gun, the latest model – and three radio sets. All these were found with some ammunition for them. Both defensive and offensive grenades were also found. In the enemy knapsacks we found a number of things. A medical knapsack was found with a variety of medicines, bandages and so on. Spare enemy uniforms were made use of as it blended well with the terrain. Identity documents were also amongst the things found on the dead. There were graphic maps. The food they carried was greatly welcomed by us all. We stocked ourselves with it. We heard from their radio that their helicopter wanted to drop some ammunition for them and that we were to be waylaid

every 100 yards along the road by a section. There was no alternative but to cross the road. We detailed a section to be an advance party, then followed by the main body carrying a seriously wounded comrade.

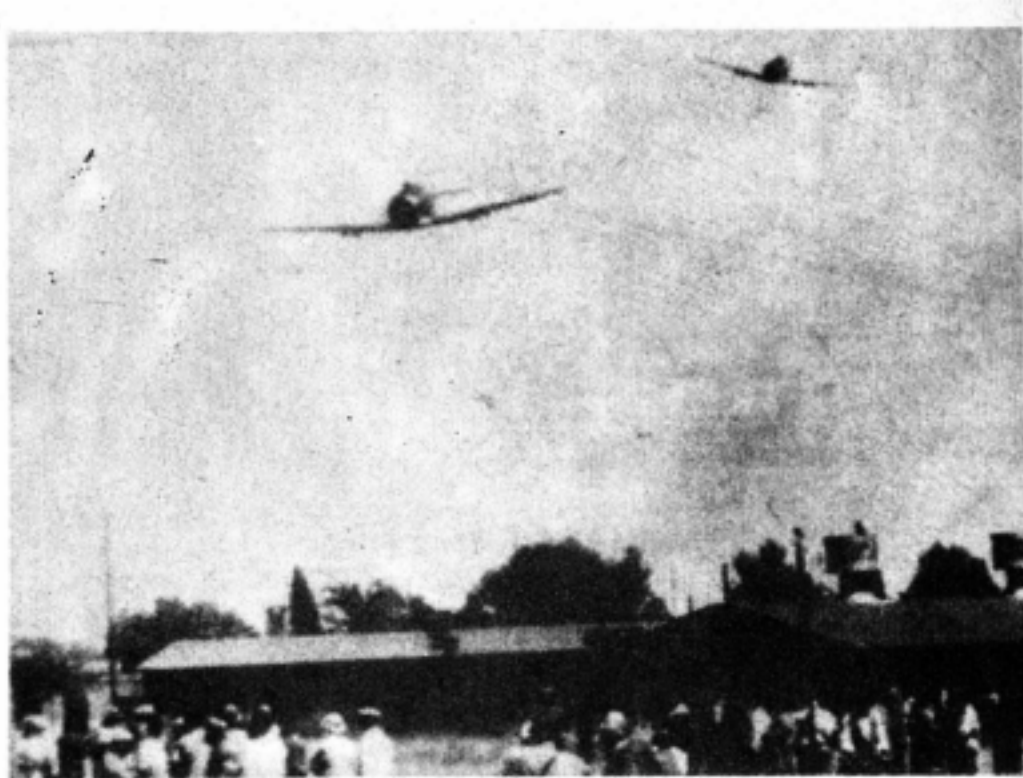
Escape

Our movement was rather slow – we crossed the road without incident. We were expecting a shot at every step we took. The main body crossed without incident as well. Visiting the place where we got milk we learnt that we were to be ambushed at the river. We could not find anything from the man beyond that. He was shocked and excited by the incident that took place that afternoon. We avoided the river and went on. We met some enemy stragglers who reluctantly tried to contact us. He probably thought that we were part of their unit. They soon ran away when one of our comrades opened fire at them. We marched on carrying the radio sets and our wounded colleague and some of the captured armaments. This proved to be heavy for us but we carried all. We drank some muddy water where the river was drying up. As we were moving forward, we were shot at by one of the stragglers. But he did not hit anyone. We had hardly improvised a stretcher for our wounded comrade when we heard a barrage of fire at the river. The enemy was shooting at its own stragglers thinking it was shooting at us. We moved that night more to the east towards the next inhabited area and camped in the bush the following morning. Some comrades heard barking of dogs nearby. Two comrades were sent to look for water. After a few hours they returned having found nothing, no people around. At the base it was heard from the enemy transistors that on the previous night they claimed to have killed 10 of us at the river. Obviously it was their own stragglers who were killed.

The second Encounter

In the late afternoon two enemy jet bombers appeared in addition to the two helicopters that were constantly flying over us. They bombed and burned an area of about half a mile ahead of us. Shortly after the bombing some voices were heard behind us – behind our temporary base. Some comrades went to inspect the place. They found that the enemy had also camped in the area, hardly 200 yards away from us. Fighting immediately broke out. We quickly deployed our forces to the support of our comrades. The enemy was mercilessly destroyed, together with its police dogs. They tried using mortar fire, grenades and other weapons. Despite all this we routed them. We killed their radio man, while he was frantically calling for the helicopter to shoot down on the battle scene. Darkness set in. The enemy was nowhere to be found. In this battle we killed more than in the previous one. We killed their patrol officer and some other ranks.

In the heat of the battle Jack ran after a fleeing white officer and was shot by a wounded enemy soldier. Without realising this Donda ran to Jack and was also killed. We spotted the enemy soldier and dealt with him. Apart from these casualties one comrade was injured. We hastily collected weapons and some other valuables from the enemy and it was quite clear that we could not carry all we had. Our bags alone were heavy. We destroyed the radio set, and some other things before we left. We made a quick getaway from the field. We came to a temporary base along the ravine where eight of our comrades went to search for water. They got lost. The detach-



ment changed positions. Early the following morning a squadron of helicopters passed, flying just above the trees. As we were there one of the comrades dug in the river bed and came across some water that we drank the whole day long.

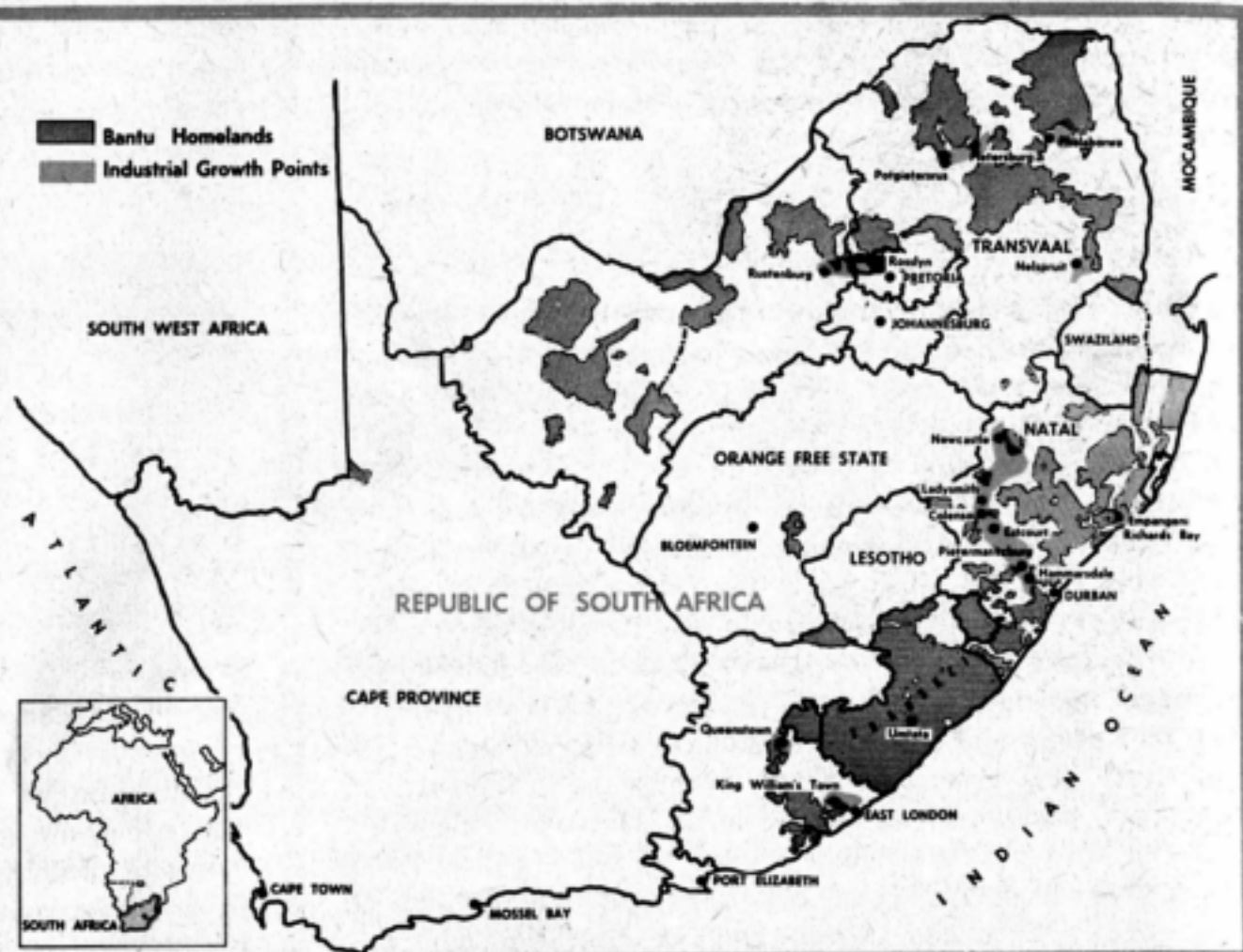
We left that evening. We proceeded down quietly. We relieved one another in carrying the wounded comrade.

During the day we learnt from our radio that on that day the enemy was mourning the death of a high ranking officer killed in action. They also said that we were provoking them into the forest, and ambushing them. They stopped following us on foot. We moved on with an acute shortage of food and water, as the area we were in was dry. We lived on sugar and lemonade powder captured from the enemy. The wounded comrade seriously slowed us down and we were not as strong as all that. We separated from some of our ZAPU comrades who were to operate elsewhere and the wounded comrade was left with them. From there on we moved faster until we came to a cattle post. We got food and water. In the evening we learnt that the enemy had organised roadblocks all the way down to Plumtree and was actively guarding the roads and water points. We were also informed that the terrain was very bad – it was open and that we could only find some forested spots up beyond Plumtree.

During the day a jet bomber dived very close to us. That evening we moved on more to the east going completely out of the way of the planes which were following us. On that day we rested away from the plane. We cooked ourselves food we had captured and continued. The terrain was open here. There was only grass and scattered trees. This was a great disadvantage to us. The next evening we moved westward, where we came into contact with people and obtained food and water. The enemy was very active along the road. We crossed into Botswana with the aim of bypassing Plumtree, and re-entering Rhodesia once more. Because of lack of cover we were forced to move along the Matemba river for two days. One day we were forced to go deeper into Botswana. We were all arrested by the Botswana police. From then on we were in jail until the end of our various terms of imprisonment. I must mention our two snipers – M. C. and M. E. – who performed invaluable service to the whole detachment throughout our journey South. They often found food when we most needed it.

In conclusion I must add that we were thrilled when we heard, while in jail in Botswana, that another detachment had been in action in the eastern areas of Zimbabwe." (An account of this action was published in our Nov. issue – Ed.)

Decentralization is the Excuse, Super-Exploitation the Motive in the Government sponsored Industrial Areas on the Periphery of African rural Regions



COLONIAL BORDER INDUSTRIES

Industrial decentralisation is a modern phenomenon internationally. Both in Europe and the North Americas, economists contend that centralisation leads to inflated costs. Wages are forced up to meet rising costs of living, which, in their turn, create higher production costs. Consequently, to maintain profit rates, Western governments and industrialists co-operate to promote development in areas of so-called "labour surplus". In other words, capitalists confronted with increasing international competition, and working class demands at home, attempt to maintain their profits increasingly at the expense of their own workers. North-east England, Wales, Ireland, the French Massif Central are outstanding examples. The South African government's "border industrial areas" illustrate the model very clearly.

Keeping Costs Down

At present, South Africa's economy depends to a significant extent on the export of wasting mineral resources, which are competitive only by being based on cheap, black labour. In the future it will have to rely increasingly on the export of industrial goods. But, because export markets are intensely competitive, industrialists try to keep costs as low as possible, in order to maintain profit ratios. Additionally, government policy is calculated to deny non-whites the right to acquire modern skills, especially in competition with white workers. Added to that, South Africa is one of the most profitable areas for investment. In 1963, the South African Foundation revealed that British capital had an average return on investment of 12.6%, and an American businessman claimed that an average return on investment in South Africa of 27% was quite realistic.

One can thus predict that decentralisation, for both po-

litical and economic reasons, will be an increasingly important factor in the South African economy. By providing jobs outside the borders of the African "homelands", they hope to check the flow of African labour to the main centres of white population, in this way hoping to forestall the development of an articulate and politically sophisticated black urban proletariat, while at the same time protecting a white working class on whom they depend for votes for as long as they maintain the facade of parliamentary procedure within a monolith of white supremacy. As the present prime minister, B. J. Vorster, said in 1956: "We know one person only to whom we owe an explanation, and that is the white worker in South Africa who has brought the Nationalist Party to the position it occupies today and will keep it in that position in the future." In other words, the future of white supremacy, the future of the white workers, the future of the industrialist (whether local or foreign) are inextricably bound together.

Stifling Real Developments

G. F. van L. Froneman, presently minister of justice, mines and planning, defined a "border industrial area" as a "white area near a Reserve that possesses, or has been provided with, the essential facilities for industrial development, but which happens to be undeveloped." He went on to emphasise that these areas should be "labour intensive", i. e., employ a large African labour force, and that the industries should not be too highly mechanised. (Hansard 17, cols. 6221 ff, 19th May 1968).

In other words, a crucial additional function of the development of border industries, despite propaganda to the contrary, is that the policy is deliberately calculated to stifle industrialisation in the "homelands" themselves.

These latter would be merely reservoirs of labour. Separate development, judging by the experience of the Transkei, means neither separation nor development.

Location

The choice of sites for these development areas is geographically interesting. Not only are they near the so-called "homelands", but also (and as significantly) near the former High Commission Territories.

Two pioneering areas – Rosslyn, ten miles from the centre of Pretoria, the Hammarsdale, between Durban and Pietermaritzburg – date from the inception of the scheme. Since then, the following have been added: East London/King Williamstown/Queenstown in the Eastern Cape; Ladysmith/Colenso and Empangeni/Richards Bay (near the proposed missile testing site) in Natal; Pietersburg/Tzaneen/Phalaborwa and Brits/Rustenburg/Mafeking in the Transvaal. Sites have also been mooted for the proposed "coloured" homelands, and for South West Africa.

Inducements

In 1960 the government offered various inducements to profit-hungry industrialists to move to the border areas. These included:

- State provision of basic services – power, light, water;
- Industrial Development Corporation assistance for the acquisition of land, provision of loans, and construction of factories for lease or sale;
- "the principle of wage differentiation" – a euphemism for paying Africans even lower wages than they are getting at the moment;
- a higher than usual depreciation rate for buildings and other plant;
- compensation for transfer costs;
- 20 % of the mortgage to be refunded in selected areas.

Additional inducements were offered, in 1964, and again in 1968. According to the Johannesburg *Star* of 4th September, 1968, the minister of economic affairs announced an investment programme of £40 million (i.e. 20 % of the State's total annual investment in secondary industry) for these areas. Additionally, he offered industrialists:

- an income tax holiday of five years for firms which established themselves in these areas within two years of his offer;
- for a maximum period of five years, financial assistance in the form of interest-free loans in respect of buildings, machinery, equipment, and working capital;
- rebates on harbour charges to encourage the use of coastal shipping from Port Elizabeth and East London.

Nonetheless, to make assurance doubly sure, if the inducements are the carrot, the promulgation of the Physical Planning and Utilisation of Resources Act, which gives the minister control over the extension of plant and labour supplies in the "white areas" is the stick. And, like all sticks in the hands of the government, it is used. On July 9th 1969, *Today's News*, a propaganda broadsheet issued by the South African Embassy in London announced that the international appliance concern of Hoover intended moving its entire premises from Isando near Johannesburg to a border area near East London. While the report stressed that Hoover would, by this move have access to "border industry schemes which include tax concessions and railway and harbour rebates", it omit-

ted to mention, firstly, that the government had refused to allow extensions to Hoover's Isando plant, and secondly, that whereas Hoover paid their Isando workers an average of £7.10.0 per week, they expected to halve their wage bill at their proposed plant.

Carrot and Stick Policy

The success of the policy can to some extent be judged from the 1967 Report of the Permanent Committee for the Location of Industry and the Development of Border Areas, read together with replies to questions by the minister of economic affairs (Hansard II, cols 415 ff, 26th April 1968).

- Between 1960 and 1967, new industrial employment had absorbed about 5000 Africans per annum. Each year, however, some 35,000 African males enter the labour market from the "homelands", and the Industrial Development Corporation estimates that from 1971 no fewer than 23,500 Africans will have to be absorbed annually into the border areas.
- In the period 1960–1967, 123 new industries had been created, 66 had been expanded, and 104 started without State assistance.
- In the same period, private enterprise had invested £122 million, while the government contributed £93.2 million. Of the State contribution, £23.4 million went to financial assistance through the agency of the Industrial Development Corporation, £1.3 million on housing some one thousand white personnel, while £18 million was devoted to housing, roads, schools etc. for African workers.

Or, to put it another way; out of a global figure of some £200 million, less than 10 % was spent on the needs of the labour forces

What industries have been re-sited?

Until recently, nearly all the industries have been labour-intensive. At Rosslyn, where the State and industry combined spent about £17.5 million, only £3 million was spent on township development, while factories set up were as varied as: a plastic button factory, an industrial laundry, a paper plate factory, and an assembly-works for the Japanese Datsun-Nissan car concern (although the white motor vehicle trade union applied pressure to have the job declared as reserved for whites).

At Pietersburg in the Northern Transvaal, a saw mill, a wheat mill and a cotton ginnery were established, and at Phalaborwa, where the State phosphate concern FOSKOR has had monopoly rights since 1955, industries have been established to deal with vermiculite and sulphuric acid. The nearest reserve, Makushane, once a "black spot", is eight miles away from the factories!

Other Transvaal enterprises include sawmills, a creosoting plant, and a wood pulp factory – and a plant at Rustenburg for the extraction of tangerine juice!

In recent months, however, the government's carrot-and-stick policy has developed a momentum as well as a swing in direction. Capital-intensive industries have at last begun to evidence an interest in these areas, and the Transkei and Ciskei seem to be most favoured, particularly by electrical and engineering concerns. One must therefore predict that increasingly cheap African labour will be used not only to work in unskilled jobs, but in skilled jobs for which they will be paid even less than what they would have earned had these industries been sited in the main industrial centres.

Poverty Continues

The Report of the Permanent Committee for the Location of Industry and Border Area Development is singularly coy about the profits of industries that operate in these areas, and one can only speculate by looking at the matter from another angle; wage rates and cost of living indices. To illustrate:

The Bureau of Market Research of the University of South Africa recently published two reports, entitled respectively: "Comparative Income Patterns of Urban Bantu 1960-1965" and "Income and Expenditure Patterns of Bantu living in Other than Family Conditions in Pretoria", 1965. Read together, these show that

- the average monthly income for a family of six amounted to £30.5.0.
- that 73 % of male heads of households were being paid at unskilled rates of pay.

The Non-European Affairs Department of the Johannesburg City Council revealed that

- while average wages had risen by 14 % since 1962, no change had taken place in the proportion of families below the poverty-datum line; it had remained constant at the astronomical figure of 68 %.

(The "poverty datum line" makes no allowance for furniture and household goods, medicines, toilet facilities, school fees, books, insurance, recreation, etc.)

C. Bak, in a doctoral thesis presented to the University of South Africa, calculated the per capita income for the various population groups as being:

Whites	£476
Asians	£73.5
Coloured	£54.5
African	£43.5

Professor H. J. J. Reynders and Dr. M. van der Berg of the Economic Advisory Council calculated the net national income of Africans in 1961 as £492 million, or 23 % of the net national income of the country as a whole.

Conclusions

One cannot help emphasising, therefore, the crucial role of the "border industrial areas" within the total fabric of the "border industrial areas" within the total fabric of the government's overall strategy - a strategy which combines colonial oppression with imperialist exploitation.

To put the whole matter in perspective, I can do no better than quote from **Techniques of Domination**, an unpublished paper of Dr. H. J. Simons, presented to the Conference on South West Africa, where he states:

"We usually think of a colony as a distinct territorial and social entity, clearly demarcated, and separated by seas or a great land mass from its imperial metropolis. South Africa's empire, in contrast, forms a continuous tract. The imperial rulers are not spatially separated from their colonial subjects. Black and white are closely integrated in a single organism. The intensity of their relationship obscures the colonial element. But it exists. We can identify it by comparing the social structure with the model of colonial society. Aliens rule. One race dominates another. Political and economic power is concentrated in the master race. Its living and cultural standards are vastly superior. Insurmountable social barriers segregate the oppressed from the master race - except when used to produce wealth for their masters."

Such is the reality of "border industrial areas."



A Fedder gives the Nazi Salute. See story below

URBAN STOCKADES

Deputy Minister of 'Bantu' Administration, Dr. Piet Koornhof is demanding that towns and cities should now put the Government's 'Whites by night' policy into operation

This policy requires that all non-Whites should be out of urban areas after an evening curfew hour.

While white 'Opposition' spokesmen spoke of the inconvenience to white housewives employing domestic servants and businesses employing evening workers (who would have to be replaced by high-paid whites), and municipal authorities grumbled over strain on transport facilities and the difficulties of cramming more Africans into packed outlying townships, the Government remained silent about the true purpose of its policy. Fearful of the growing anger and resentment of all Africans (and constantly aware of the threat posed by the operations of members of the fighting liberation movement), the Government's aim is for Whites to huddle in their urban stockades from dusk till daylight, secure from the threat of African militancy. Yet another move deeper into the laager!

'WHITES BY DAY'

Apparently, in the daytime too, Whites wish to be protected from the contamination of an African presence - this time in shopping areas in the Transvaal. Africans come to shop in these areas on Saturdays, because, like the inhabitants of the American Negro ghettos, they find that the goods in White areas are cheaper and of better quality. The executive committee o

FROM INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

current news and comment



the Municipal Association of the Transvaal has expressed concern over such 'invasions'. The Council of Rand Municipalities also wishes to prevent liquor being sold to Africans in White areas. But they are having trouble with shopkeepers over such issues – the usual dilemma of those caught between ruthless hatred of Africans and greed for the profits to be made from them.

'NO SOLUTION'

Where are the unwanted props of white privilege meant to sleep? The Director of Non-European Affairs in Pretoria, Mr. S. F. Kingsley recently remarked that it should be clear to even the greatest 'apartheid' optimist that the problem of Bantu housing . . . has no foreseeable solution.' He said that it had been calculated that in Johannesburg, the shortage was 10,000 houses, in Pretoria between 6,000 and 7,000. In addition, it had been forecast that the annual increase of the African population in urban areas would be 380,000 by the year 1980.

How long would Africans tolerate insufficient housing, not to mention other rights, he asked – adding that there were tremendous problems of liaison between cities and 'homelands'. This required the closest co-operation between officials of the Department of 'Bantu' Administration and Development, and urban local authorities. He said: 'It is unfortunate that this mutual liaison sometimes leaves much to be desired.'

'BOOTSTRAPS'

Perhaps Dr. Piet Koornhof's new plan for taxing African migrant workers is the Government's idea of such 'liaison'? Dr. Koornhof's scheme is to impose a tax on such workers to promote industrial development in the homelands whence these workers are said to come. Such a tax on Africans coming into the White areas is, he added, a 'matter of growing importance'.

A matter of growing importance to whom, Dr. Koornhof? To the Department of Bantu Administration which refuses to allow 'White' capital into African areas – and which has made no provisions itself for development? Perhaps, Dr. Koornhof, it will also be important to African workers, millions of whom are already living below the breadline – and some of whom have never seen so-called 'homelands', to which they have been arbitrarily assigned.

The plan has, of course, an underlying motive of paradoxical (and criminal) cynism. Africans will be toiling in the 'White' areas, to which they are forced to come by economic necessity, (leaving their dependents behind them) in order to whitewash the apartheid system which is responsible for all their ills. Some evidence of development might thus be shown in territories which however, in no circumstances, will ever be able to support those who are alleged to be their inhabitants.

The Johannesburg *Star* describes the above scheme as a 'lift-yourself-by-your-own-bootstraps method comparable to making

Africans pay for their own education' (which they do), 'only worse.' We feel the *Star's* metaphor is far too moderate. Do they think hungry workers still further exploited will be able to afford boots – with or without straps? Africans will be paying in a more basic currency than leather – with their blood and sweat, and with their children's tears.

NO MIXING ON THIS MENU

Meanwhile back in those 'homelands', Transkei puppet Minister George Matanzima had arranged to go on a 'goodwill tour' of a Port Elizabeth factory. The goodwill went out of the tour when Matanzima and his party found themselves eating in a separate room.

Later, at a meeting in New Brighton, Matanzima said: "If the white man does not want my company why should I run after him and yearn for his company. The African no longer feels honoured by dining with a White man." (It seems that even puppets sometimes come to life.)

When asked if Pretoria had ordered arrangements for a mixed lunch to be cancelled, a senior Government official had no comment to make.

All in all, South Africa's 'have-your-cake-and-eat-it' schizophrenics have been having a field day.

卐 NAZI ACTIVE IN S.A. 卐

Mr. A. Fedder who laid a wreath on behalf of Germans in South Africa during the Second World War, gave the Nazi salute at the graveside of Dr. Hans van Rensburg's grave at Verwoerdburg in South Africa during the annual commemoration ceremony of van Rensburg's death.

Dr. van Rensburg was leader of the Ossewa Brandwag (O. B.) a secret fascist society, which is still active in South Africa.

The Prime Minister of South Africa, B.J. Vorster, was interned during World War II as a leader of this society.

In 1966, when he was head of the Security Police, Lieut. General H.J. van den Bergh, now head of the dreaded Bureau of State Security (BOSS) gave the O.B. salute at a similar ceremony. He described this as "a gesture of friendship".

Summing up the achievements of the Ossewa Brandwag, during the war, van Rensburg wrote in his autobiography, published after the war:

"I fought (the) war effort and I fought it bitterly with all the means at my disposal – which were considerable . . . There is no doubt that they (the O. B. members) seriously hampered the government's war effort. Hampered it because the government was forced to draw off considerable manpower to guard strategic points and essential services. A not inconsiderable military element also had to be retained in South Africa as a strategic reserve for possible emergencies . . .

". . . We often broke the law – and broke it shatteringly".

BOOS AT TWICKENHAM



APARTHEID! OUT! OUT! OUT!

It wasn't the rain that spoilt the play, it was the booing. Loud, concerted, systematic booing. And the Springboks lost, against a junior team, some youngsters in fact, from Oxford University. It may not have been a lesson in rugby, but it was certainly that in politics. Righteous indignation, not rugby won the day. It all began at Oxford, the proposed first venue for a match between the Springboks and Oxford. But the tour planners had reckoned without the Ruskin men, the experienced and serious trade unionist students who have already done as much in protest against apartheid. They organised a Fireworks Committee, linked up with another Anti-Apartheid Group, and rallied Oxford University and town to such a pitch of enthusiasm that the police advised that the match be cancelled. Amid much speculation, the British Rugby Board cast about for another field, first here then there, then at some army field in Portsmouth. But this was refused by the Government, and so the game was scheduled for Twickenham and the public announcement delayed until the night before the match.

By this time the press had brought apartheid onto the front page, and television gave first place to the leaders of the protest movement. Young Dick Hains, veteran Dennis Brutus and spokesmen of the Anti-Apartheid Movement appeared at peak hour to hell the world why they opposed so strenuously the racist 'sportsmen' from South Africa:

The day of the match, several hundred demonstrators marched behind a mobile loudspeaker from the Twickenham station to the sportsfield to transform the scene. Young people drawn from London and the surrounding areas stood shoulder to shoulder outside the ground shouting **APARTHEID OUT! OUT! OUT!** And the spectators shuffled uncomfortably along in the thin dribbling queues.

The police, watchful for an opening, pressed the demonstrators on to a pavement, and pushed a stalled car with loud-hailer away from the entrance to the ground.

Inside, the scene was strange. Three large stands stood totally deserted but for the stark presence of policemen dotted about

in a regular pattern as though they were part of some symbolic act. Any moment they might break into movement, hold up a poster or a sash in the way of Chinese dancers at a stadium, but no, they stood stolidly, occasionally stamping their feet to keep out the gnawing cold. One stand though, was teeming with life. It wasn't full, but it yet gave out an appearance of activity. Perhaps it was the buzz of excitement, so wholly unexpected in this otherwise deserted ground, with the barriers sealing off three of the stands and threequarters of the standing room. In front of the remaining stand, perched rather precariously on the edge of the field, a line of policemen all in blue with well protected heads stood waiting for they knew not what. When the stand was almost full, a shout was raised — **APARTHEID OUT! OUT! OUT!** Loud, stunningly defiant, their roar forced itself upon the thin line of police, echoing back from the empty stands across the field. The crowd buzzed.

And then the players were tripping onto the field, to be met by an immediate response. Several hundred voices, pitched high, raised up a loud BOO so that even the starting whistle was drowned out. And this was the pattern for the following hour and a half. Every incident was marked by concerted shouting from the protestors, whistles blew until players were utterly confused, demonstrators pressed against the high strong fence separating them from the players, and the police were reinforced until they were standing two and three deep behind their protective fence.

Let it be acknowledged that the Springboks played awful rugby. Whether it was because it was the first game of the tour, whether it was because they had only been able to snatch one fleeting practice at some distant unknown field since landing, whether it was the overbearing hostility from the crowd, but it was evident to all that their rugby was appalling. And they lost, to a youthful, inexperienced team, and the protestors exulted. A long trail of demonstrations lies ahead for the Springboks. And for that matter for South Africa itself. The shame of apartheid, the suffering of its victims stand in some small way revenged by the militancy of the best of British youth.

THE CASE AGAINST WINNIE MANDELA

Winnie Mandela, wife of A.N.C. leader Nelson Mandela, serving a life sentence on Robben Island has been charged with twenty-one others under the Suppression of Communism Act. The charges arise out of the activities of the African National Congress and refer to Nelson Mandela, Oliver Tambo, Paul Joseph, Duma Nokwe, Phillip Golding, Lucas Opperman and John Schlapobersky. The activities referred to took place during the period October 1967 to June 5, 1969, in Johannesburg, Durban, Cradock, Port Elizabeth and Umtata and other places unknown to the prosecutor.

When the accused first appeared in Court, Mr. J. Carlson asked the court's permission for the relatives to be allowed to see them during the adjournment. "It is a humane request. They have been cut off from the world since their arrest in May and have not been allowed to see their relatives," he said.

The 21 main charges are that they . . .

- Established groups and committees within the African National Congress;
- Administered and/or took the oath of the A.N.C.;
- Recruited members or encouraged one another to recruit members for the A.N.C.;
- Arranged, attended or addressed meetings of the A.N.C.;
- Inspected trains and railways installations at Braamfontein, Croesus, Booyens and Crown and searched for the Langeberg Co-operative with the object of finding suitable targets and methods for committing acts of sabotage;
- Devised means for obtaining explosives;
- Discussed, distributed or possessed publications issued by the overseas branches of the A.N.C., South African Communist Party and the South African Indian Congress and that they conducted correspondence with the overseas branches of the A.N.C. and/or with the co-conspirators;

DOCTRINE

- Prepared, discussed, distributed, possessed or concealed literature and/or correspondence of the A.N.C. and the correspondence in the previous charge;
- Propagated the communist doctrine by means of discussions, speeches and lectures.
- Discussed matters affecting the A.N.C. with Phillip Ralph Golding and gave instructions to him regarding his visit to the overseas branch of the A.N.C.
- Discussed with Phillip Ralph Golding and/or Lucas Johann Opperman steps to raise finances for the A.N.C.
- Visited or arranged visits to members of the A.N.C. in prisons at Nylstroom and Robben Island, their dependents and ex-prisoners with the object of obtaining information and/or instructions for the organisation;
- Discussed the establishment of contact with guerilla fighters in the event of their arrival within the Republic;



Arranged a funeral under the auspices of the A. N. C. for Merimentsi Lekoto the attendance of members and the delivery of speeches in furtherance of the aims of the organisation;

- Arranged a funeral for Lameck Loabile, the attendance of members and the delivery of speeches in furtherance of the aims of the organisation;

POST BOXES

- Secured and made use of postboxes and cover addresses for the delivery of mail addressed to the organisation and its members;
- Encouraged members to listen to radio broadcasts by the A.N.C. in Tanzania.
- Employed measures to conceal the activities of the organization;
- Encouraged feelings of hostility between the White and non-White races of the Republic;
- Discussed the feasibility of sending certain members out of the Republic and/or encouraged certain members to leave the Republic in the interests of the organisation;
- Had informal discussions and issued instructions in regard to the conducting of the affairs of the organisation.

They were alternatively charged with wrongfully and unlawfully performing acts which were calculated to further the achievement of an object of communism.

The object referred to is the bringing about of political and/or industrial and/or social and/or economic changes within the Republic by the promotion of disturbance or disorder, by unlawful acts or by the threat of such acts or by means which included the promotion of disturbance or disorder.

The accused are: Samson Ratshivande Ndou, David Motau, Nomzoma Winnie Mandela, Hiengani Jackson Mahlaule, Elliot Goldberg Shabangu, Joyce Nomafa Sikakane, Nanko Paulus Matshabe, Lawrence Ndzanga, Rita Anita Ndanga, Joseph Sikalala, David Dalton Tsotetsi, Victor Emmanuel Mazitulela, George Mokwebo, Joseph Chamberlain Nobanda, Simon Mosikare, Douglas Mtshetshe Mvemve, Venus Thokozile, Mhghoma Martha Dlamini, Owen Msimilele Vanga, Livingstone Mancoko and Peter Zexforth Magubane.

BOOK REVIEWS

CLASS AND COLOUR IN SOUTH AFRICA (1850 - 1950)

by J. H. and R. E. Simons.
Penguin Books. 1969. pp702 21/-

This important book has aroused so much interest and comment that Sechaba has taken the unusual step of soliciting three reviewers to discuss the book from different angles. They are Joe Matthews, Michael Harmel and Alan Brooks each of whom are experienced writers on African social history.

PROBLEMS OF SOUTH AFRICAN HISTORY

by Joe Matthews

South Africa is notorious as a country whose society is torn by conflicts based on class and colour discrimination. The origin and development of these conflicts is deeply embedded in the history of the last three hundred years. Each of the contending forces that have shaped South African history interpret and evaluate events in a fundamentally different manner. So that, there is as yet, no definitive or authoritative history of South Africa acceptable to the people as a whole. It is highly unlikely that any will appear for a very long time to come.

No matter how pretentious the claims to "academic" or "objective" scholarship, what we have had thus far are versions of history preferred by various forces that have played some part of South African history. For a long time and still today the major historical writings used in South African universities have represented the views of the contending groups within the ruling white minority. To some the history of South Africa was that of the White settler and primarily the Afrikaner battling against the Africans on the one hand and remote metropolitan governments on the other. To others the most potent force in our history was the role of the missionaries. To still others the tragedy of South Africa was that the "imperial factor" was not allowed to operate freely as elsewhere in the British Empire because of the opposition of local settlers. To the protagonists of empire South Africa became independent with the passing of the Statute of Westminster in 1931. To the Afrikaner historian final independence arrived when the National Party triumphed and consummated the victory with the establishment of the Republic of South Africa in 1961. To the vast majority of the people of South Africa independence has not been established yet. The struggle for freedom and independence continues. The words and deeds of the vast majority of the people - the Africans, Indians and Coloureds have remained largely ignored in the official histories. It is not only the nationally oppressed whose contribution to the history of the country was ignored. The labouring people as a whole who have built the country are similarly without a voice in history. Most of those who have attended African schools will have gone through the

experience of the inevitable introduction to history classes. The history teacher (an African) would make it clear that his job is to teach and get the students through their courses, but they naturally should not believe the lies being told about the history of the country. Thus the African student has to become an expert in writing a history he does not believe in order to pass examinations.

TIME TO REDRESS THE BALANCE

The time has now arrived when we can expect works to appear which will redress the balance by presenting materials and interpretations from the point of view of the life and struggles of the masses of the people, particularly the indigenous Africans. These will still not be the history of South Africa but they will make a true and definitive approach to it more possible. It is only after all the various versions have been adequately represented in our historiography that it will perhaps be possible to produce a truly South African history from the point of view of historical materialism.

A number of works have already appeared which in varying degrees endeavour to present a more balanced picture than we have had in the past. Among these should be mentioned the notable *New Oxford History of South Africa*.^{*} This work has not completely shed the legacy of past official histories. But it marks a departure in two important respects. Firstly it marks a break with the absurd idea that has been so assiduously peddled that the Africans and the white settlers arrived in South Africa at about the same time and that therefore both groups are not indigenous to the country. The new Oxford History effectively demolishes this long held and politically-motivated historical distortion. Secondly the new Oxford History of South Africa deliberately sets out to deal with the words and deeds of all the people of South Africa taken as a whole. Whether or not this task is accomplished is quite another matter. But the concept of a history embracing all the various peoples of our country is a marked departure from previous practice.

We must hasten to add that there is nothing surprising in these developments. It is no longer possible in our time to drown the voice of oppressed peoples by means of "authoritative" institutions and academics belonging to the imperialist and other ruling groups. The emergence to independence of the African and other oppressed peoples and more important the emergence of the decisive voice of the World Socialist System has opened up opportunities for combating the ideological influence of imperialism. As a necessary defence mechanism we find that imperialist institutions are rushing to produce their own corrective material to the misleading histories they produced before. In fact this is resulting not in truthful histories but in half-corrected material that propounds new and further errors. Quite frankly unless Africans and other oppressed peoples with an intimate knowledge of the linguistic, cultural, and other characteristics of their own countries, start doing research and writing on their own history we are unlikely to get much satisfaction.

* Edited by Monica Wilson and Leonard Thompson, Clarendon Press (Oxford). 1969

A COMMITTED VIEWPOINT

The work by Jack and Ray Simons is perhaps the first that presents facets of South African history from the committed viewpoint of those in the national liberation movement. In the foreword the authors prefer to describe the book as an "exercise in political sociology" and not a history. In fact the book was first conceived as a history of the labour movement but was later widened to include other aspects relating to the liberation movement as a whole.

But there is no denying the fact that many will view the book as a history and analyse it as such.

There is never a dull moment in this book. It makes for very exciting and fast reading. We have no doubt that our people will find it useful as a weapon against the plethora of "objective" works with which we are being regaled, dealing with the national liberation movement in South Africa. Based on much new material Jack and Ray Simons have presented a fascinating story not only of events but of some of the personalities whose contribution to our continuing struggle has been so great.

Having said that we must express some reservations on a number of points about the book.

Whether or not the authors regarded the work as one of political sociology, it should have dealt in fact with society and the movement of society. There is a great deal of attention paid to what this or that person said or did at a particular time and often the explanations for very complex phenomena is taken care of with a quotation from some personality. Too often it is the "heroes" who are the focus of attention rather than society, the movement, the organisation as a collective.

THE DANGER OF PERSONALITIES

The explanations in history based on what significant personalities did or said contain very serious dangers all of which are present in the work. First of all this method does not in fact give a scientific reason for developments. In any event, also, limitations on space make it impossible to examine all the views and opinions of historical figures so that inevitably a small selection is presented on which a judgment is founded unfair to the subject.

In the absence of a firm adherence to a description of events based on class and social changes in society explanations of events tend to be dominated by quotations and opinions of this or that individual. There is also throughout the book a curious reluctance to present what the organised movement was doing or saying about itself at different stages. Official resolutions, programmes, statements are few and far between. This would be understandable if in fact such information had been made available before. But it has not. Inasmuch as the actions of organisations such as the Communist Party and the African National Congress are under a microscope in the book one is often left wondering what the Central Committees, or National Executives or Conferences said as distinct from certain personalities, however eminent.

But whatever we, or anybody else thinks, the work by Jack and Ray Simons represents a challenge for very much more writing by members of the national liberation and working class movement on the events of the past and the lessons to be drawn from them. Some of the theoretical propositions and controversies referred to by them continue to this day. The rich reference materials used in this work will stimulate a search for still more material of the same type. In other words Jack and Ray have fired the honourable first shot and this should and will be followed by books from our side of the fence on our history and issues raised by it.

SOUTH AFRICA :

THE STRUGGLE FOR A BIRTHRIGHT

by Mary Benson (Funk and Wagnalls, New York, \$5.95).

This is a new edition, published in America, of Mary Benson's wellknown work, *The African Patriots*. It is a brief history of the African resistance movement in South Africa, covering substantially the years 1912-1963. (There is a prologue very briefly summarising the struggles of the nineteenth century, and a final chapter headed "1969-7." This final chapter, however, is devoted mainly to conclusions drawn from what has gone before and contains virtually no account of the armed struggle which is the main feature of the present time).

This is the most comprehensive account of the liberation movement which has yet been published, and it contains much of value to all supporters of that movement. Against the background of present difficulties it is particularly interesting to remember the setbacks from which the ANC and other popular movements have recovered in the past. The technique of banning leaders was not invented by the present South African Government, but was used by Pirow as long ago as 1930. The banning of the militant leaders, Tonjeni and Ndobe, was followed by the murder of Johannes Nkosi. Weakened by repression, the ANC dropped its first militant President, James Gumede. By the middle thirties, many people had written off the A.N.C. and were tempted by the idea of a new national organisation. Few at that time could have prophesied the steady advance that lay ahead: 1945 - the manifesto "African Claims" in which the Congress first decisively switched from reformism to radical change. 1949 - the Programme of Action in which militant methods were married to radical aims. 1952 - the Defiance Campaign. 1955 - the Freedom Charter. 1961 - the formation of Umkhonto we Sizwe, and so to the present phase of armed revolution. Mary Benson gives a lucid, absorbing account of these historic events. If at times she has too much tolerance for the succession of rival organisations with which the ANC has had to cope down the years, she rightly gives Congress the central role throughout her story. All South African democrats are indebted to her.

BRITISH SUPPORT FOR A.N.C.

The British Anti Apartheid Movement resolved to give full support for the liberation struggle of the A.N.C. at its recent Annual Conference. The resolution read:

MATERIAL AID

This AGM, reaffirming support for the guerilla struggle for liberation in Southern Africa and urging that the maximum direct practical assistance be given by people in Britain to the forces striving for freedom in the sub-continent:

- (1) accepts in principle the request for aid received from the African National Congress;
- (2) invites the African National Congress to submit further details of its requirements;
- (3) calls upon all member organisations, sympathetic bodies and the public at large to respond to the request of the African National Congress and pledges the Anti-Apartheid Movement to assist in all such efforts;
- (4) instructs the incoming Executive to give serious and sympathetic attention to any such requests as may be received in future;
- (5) calls for financial help to further the cause in whatever way the liberation movement consider would be most effective.

O.A.U. Liberation Committee to be Re-organised?

In its thirteenth ordinary session, held in Ethiopia at the end of August, the OAU Council of Ministers resolved that an investigating Committee be set up to look into the mandate, structure and composition of the Co-ordinating Committee for the Liberation of Africa. The investigating committee would consult with liberation movements and all member states of the OAU.

This resolution which was submitted as a recommendation to the African Heads of States' meeting, which also took place in Addis Ababa this Summer, was adopted by the Summit Meeting. The countries elected to serve on the Committee are:

Cameroun, Chad, Tanzania, Kenya, Congo-Kinshasa, Ethiopia and the Central African Republic.

The Council of Ministers reaffirmed the legitimacy of the struggle launched in Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Angola, Guinea (Bissau), Namibia, South Africa, so-called French Somaliland (Djibouti), the so-called Spanish Sahara and the Comoro Islands.

Its resolution on Decolonisation and Apartheid noted with concern that not only had there been no improvement in the situation of the populations but that on the contrary conditions had worsened in these territories.

The session exposed the fact that the support given in various forms by NATO member states enabled these racist regimes to intensify their war of colonial domination and thereby constituted a major obstacle to the liberation struggle of the African people concerned.

It condemned the illegal racist minority regime of Ian Smith which had imposed an obnoxious constitution on Zimbabwe in order to consolidate colonialism and racism. The United Kingdom was likewise condemned for the fact that the U.K. Government as administering power had not taken the necessary steps to put an end to that regime. The Council of Ministers then decided to submit several recommendations to the Sixth Ordinary session of the Assembly of African Heads of State and Government.

MORE ASSISTANCE TO LIBERATION MOVEMENTS

These included a call for more assistance to be extended to the liberation movements materially, financially and diplomatically.

In the field of propaganda the meeting decided that better use be made of information media of the OAU member states to promote psychological warfare in the territories under colonial domination.

Diplomatic activity would be vigorously conducted, aimed at international organisations to achieve the ultimate goal of liberation. In this field one important activity would be to keep opinion well informed and aroused to the crimes perpetrated against a section of Africa by the colonial and racist regimes of South Africa, Portugal and the United Kingdom.

An urgent appeal would be addressed to the Great Powers which are permanent members of the Security Council to meet their obligations in respect of problems of colonialism and Apartheid with the view to safeguarding international peace and security.

Spotlight on SOUTH AFRICA Weekly News Digest

The Publicity and Information Department of the African National Congress of South Africa regrets to announce that owing to a major re-organisation of its department SPOTLIGHT ON SOUTH AFRICA will not be published until January 1970 THE NEW SPOTLIGHT will be published weekly once more and a feature of the revised publication will be that it will include a digest of a greater number of South African newspapers as well as reports from African and other radio stations on events in Southern Africa.

SUBSCRIBERS are advised that their subscriptions will be adjusted to cover the period of non-publication.

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