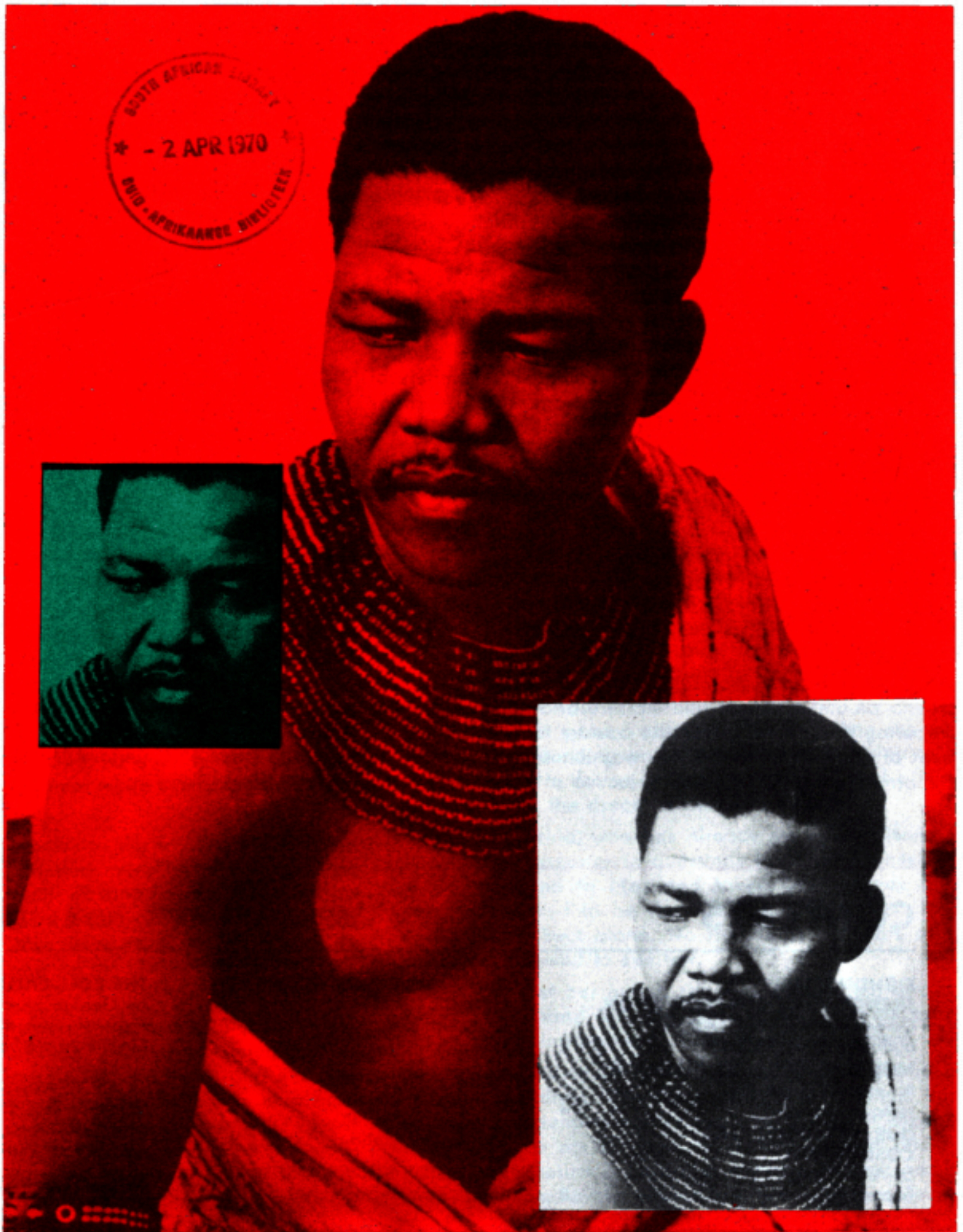


*Security*

# SECHABA

**official organ  
african national congress  
south africa**

**NELSON  
MANDELA**



**VOLUME 4  
NUMBER 2  
FEBRUARY  
1970**



# FIGHTING TALK

# SILENCE, THEN

When Winnie Mandela and her twenty one co-accused boldly sang Nkosi Sikelele i Afrika – the anthem of the African National Congress in the court where they are on trial, they raised high the banner of the South African revolution. Facing a list of twenty one charges under the Suppression of Communism Act for carrying on the activities of the illegal African National Congress, Winnie Mandela, wife of Nelson Mandela who is serving a life sentence on Robben Island, has shown the intrepid courage that goes with an irrepressible revolutionary will. It is people like these who stand charged by Vorster's prosecutors that make certain the eventual success of the revolutionary struggle in South Africa.

Brought into court to plead to the charges after some five months in solitary confinement Winnie Mandela said, "it has been a soul corroding experience."

The charges refer to long and wide ranging activities in the main centres of South Africa for the express purpose of creating a structure which would carry on the work of the African National Congress. The prosecution has alleged that the accused established contact with old members of the ANC in the townships around Johannesburg, such as Soweto, Diepkloof and Alexandra. This contact was extended to other provinces, notably the Eastern Cape and Natal, and members visited centres like Durban, Port Elizabeth and Umtata to create branches there.

The precepts of the M – Plan were followed to ensure maximum security for members, and groups were limited to five or ten members. Meetings were held in houses, cars and in the veld, "with the more experienced members giving lectures on the policies of the African National Congress."

The prosecution also maintains that the discussions centred around problems of guerrilla warfare and were directed at preparing the ground inside the country for the commencement of guerrilla action. There was a total commitment to the armed struggle with the objective of an armed upris-

ing against the White minority government when the time was ripe.

The state also alleges that serious efforts were made to obtain explosives, or ingredients to make explosives, for use in acts of sabotage. An inspection of a possible target was made in Johannesburg.

The particulars given by the prosecution in the early stages of the trial covered 24 pages and detailed 21 separate acts alleged to have been committed by the accused over a period of 20 months – from October 1, 1967 to June 15, 1969, and were said to have taken place in Johannesburg, Durban, Cradock, Port Elizabeth and Umtata and various other places "unknown to the prosecutor".

**The prosecution has also charged that Nelson Mandela was able to pass on messages and instructions to the organisation from inside prison.**

Evidence given thus far relates to a bold and extremely courageous campaign to build a substantial organisation under the most hazardous conditions. The evidence has brought out the extensive use of spies and informers by the police, the persecution that haunts the country, and the extreme resourcefulness of Winnie Mandela and her comrades in their work.

It has been revealed that an African employee secretly used the offices of the United States Information Service in Johannesburg for duplicating ANC pamphlets and that he received post at the address. A witness described how Mrs Mandela arrived at the office on a Sunday accompanied by two other women and used rubber gloves to run off 2,000 pamphlets dealing with the Urban Bantu Councils which were set up by the Government as dummy bodies and calling on the people to reject these institutions. Further evidence related to the preparations made by the ANC group for the funeral of a former ANC activist, Mr Lekoto. Speeches were prepared for the funeral, and mourners were to wear ANC uniform. An ANC flag was used to cover the coffin.

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# CONFRONTATION

The trial of Winnie Mandela and her comrades is being held in a court known as the Old Synagogue in Pretoria which was especially acquired by the Government for the Treason Trial of 1956-1961. The same court was used for the famous Rivonia Trial in which Nelson Mandela was sentenced to life imprisonment, and now, Winnie too faces the same stern, prejudiced, judges from whom no mercy can be expected.

By the State's own admission, Winnie Mandela behaved in the revolutionary tradition of the ANC. It is said that she set out to develop a grass roots organisation, with widespread contact throughout the country, and that the police were hounding her incessantly. Winnie and her group were discovered, but the tradition goes on, and new groups will arise, and combine, until the country is ripe for the culmination of the revolution which alone can bring peace to South Africa.

Further confirmation of the impetus of struggle now evident in the country is given by the arrest of a 26 year old African in Natal and his conviction under the Terrorism Act. Donald Sifiso Mathengela was sentenced to seven years imprisonment in the Supreme Court in Pietermaritzburg. Mathengela was said to have received military training in China, the Soviet Union, Tanzania and Egypt. He acknowledged membership of the African National Congress.

The ANC underground has been active in a number of other directions recently. Leaflet distributions have taken place in all the main cities, and taped broadcasts have relayed a fighting message to wildly excited crowds which gathered rapidly in the vicinity.

In the conditions of total terror now obtaining in South Africa all these events are a mark of the determination of our people to be free. Hard as the road is, and though our casualties are many, the South African revolution cannot be crushed. Every act of resistance confirms that there will be no respite for the enemy who is already in a frenzy of mobilization to meet a movement which seems to strike from all directions.

Torture, detention, even murder in the blackness of solitary confinement, has not succeeded in stifling resistance. The love of liberty is a perennially flowing stream. It cannot be curbed, it cannot be argued out of existence, it certainly cannot be ignored. That love burns most fiercely where the oppression is greatest, and in this South Africa is a supreme instance.

For twenty months there was no outward sign that Winnie Mandela was doing anything other than minding her children and earning a living. Only the arrest that came so swiftly revealed to the country and the outside world that she had been leading a clandestine existence of great activity in the cause of the revolution. And so it will continue, silence, then confrontation, this is the law of struggle in the conditions of Fascism, ending only when victory is at hand.

# AND TWO WOMEN REFUSE TO TESTIFY

SHANTI NAIDOO and NONDWE MANKAHLA, two young women stubbornly refused to give evidence in the Winnie Mandela Case. Both were sentenced to two months imprisonment and at the expiry of this period they will be brought to court once again to answer the same questions. If they again refuse to give evidence they will be sentenced once more, a process that can continue indefinitely.

Shanti Naidoo has a brother Indris, who is serving a ten year sentence for sabotage, and her family has a long history of political struggle (See Sechaba Volume 3 no 9). When asked to testify, she gave as reasons for her refusal that Winnie Mandela and Joyce Sikakhane among the accused were her friends. She would not be able to live with her conscience if she testified. Nondwe Mankahla, when asked by the Judge on what grounds she was refusing said, **"I do not want to give evidence against my people"**.

When led by her counsel, Shanti Naidoo said that after her arrest on June 13 she had been kept in solitary confinement. She had to sleep on the floor of the cell, and was allowed reading matter only after a month. She had made a statement in prison after a five-day interrogation during which she was not allowed to sleep.

Her interrogator had threatened to arrest her entire family if she refused to make a statement. At one time she went to sleep while standing and dreamt she was talking to her interrogators. The dream did not make sense and she was interrogated on the dream when she woke up.

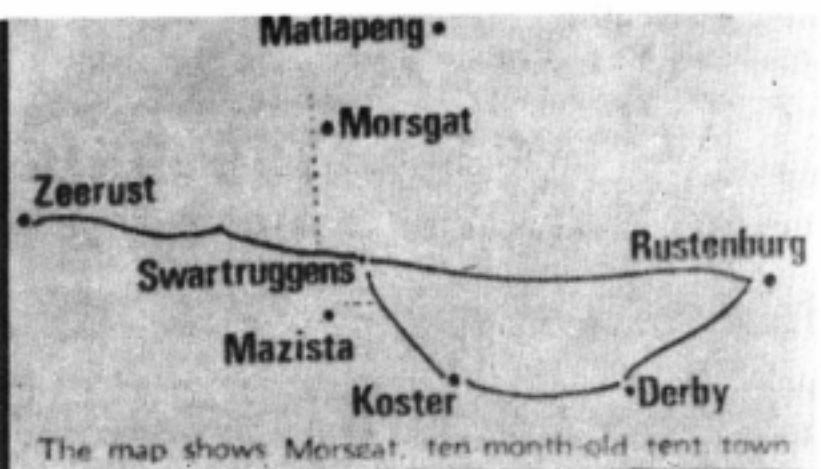
Nondwe Mankahla, who has already served a prison sentence said in response to questions from her counsel, that she was arrested in May and taken into custody under what she believed to be the 180 - day detention clause. She had been kept alone. No friends or members of her family were allowed to see her.

From the time of her arrest, she was questioned, and was also made to stand for long periods. She became exhausted from standing and eventually made a statement.

The courage and tough self-discipline of these young women is outstanding. After long periods of the most harsh treatment in detention and in the face of certain imprisonment they have not flinched. What constitutes a crime in South Africa's courts is regarded with the deepest admiration by freedom lovers everywhere. Of such people is a revolution made and a new world born.



**ITS NAME IS 'MESS-HOLE'  
- BUT IT IS A HELL**



# MORSGAT- VILLAGE OF SHAME

In the latter part of last year, the Johannesburg RAND DAILY MAIL heard rumours that a hideous new 'removal' had taken place. For over 10 months more than 100 families had been living in tents at the side of a dirt road, 28 miles outside Swartruggens, a small town in the Transval.

The RAND DAILY MAIL sent three African reporters to investigate - Whites are not allowed in 'Bantu' areas . . . and though these men were subsequently held and questioned by the police for four hours, they could not find a law to charge them under. (Presumably, this is a legal loophole which the regime will be planning to 'plug up' in the not-too-distant future.)

The story which these three men brought back with them and which was subsequently published in the RAND DAILY MAIL (causing a storm of vilification from the Government and its Press) is a story of shame and horror. It is not a new story; because such conditions are coming into existence in more and more places all over South Africa. Limehill, Stinkwaters, Klippgats, Uitvals . . . these are but a few of the names of shame that have already come to light. It is a story, however, that everyone who wants to know the truth



about South Africa should read. Because this is the truth these are the facts behind the words like 'Bantustans', 'homelands', and 'community development' with which the apartheid regime seeks to cover its crimes.

Fenced on three sides, its fourth side abutting on the dirt road to Swartruggens, Morsgat is 60 - 70 acres of bare brown bushveld. Its name is given on some old ordinance maps as the farm 'Moesgat' (Afrikaans for 'mush-hole'). But the Department of Bantu Administration states (for once with accuracy) that its correct name is 'Morsgat' - 'mess-hole'.

The 1200 - 1500 people who now 'live' at Morsgat came from three settlements adjacent to slate quarries situated in a proclaimed 'White' area. These 3 settlements were 'slums' in any accepted sense - their inhabitants lived in miserable huts without any modern facilities. But there was clean water, there was a school within possible walking distance and the men of the settlements (who worked in the quarries) were able to live with their families.

## HOW THE PEOPLE MOVED TO MORSGAT

One woman tells her story of the removal to Morsgat: 'I was still in bed,' she recalls. They had called for her at dawn. It wasn't her first warning of the removal, however. Already numbers had been painted on the walls of houses in the location. Two months earlier, she had been called to the rent office.

'They told me my papers were in order; they said I had been given a house in Morsgat.'

She and her husband - they have two grown children - asked if they could go to Tlokweg (a nearby settlement) instead. 'We were told that Morsgat was a better place. They said Morsgat was good.'

That dawn, the couple's belongings were loaded into a truck. They were told they could take all moveables, but not 'cattle, sheep, pigs or donkeys.' Three head of cattle were left behind with friends.

When they arrived at Morsgat, their possessions were dumped in the veld. A plot of bush was pointed out to them, and a tent. No food rations were handed out to them (though the Bantu Affairs Commissioner has publicly stated that three days' rations

are supplied to every family which is thus moved).

Most of the families arrived in the afternoon, and immediately started clearing away the bush in order to be able to pitch their tents. Others arrived at night, drenched after a downpour, and had to pitch their tents in the rain.

## WHAT HAPPENED AFTER THAT?

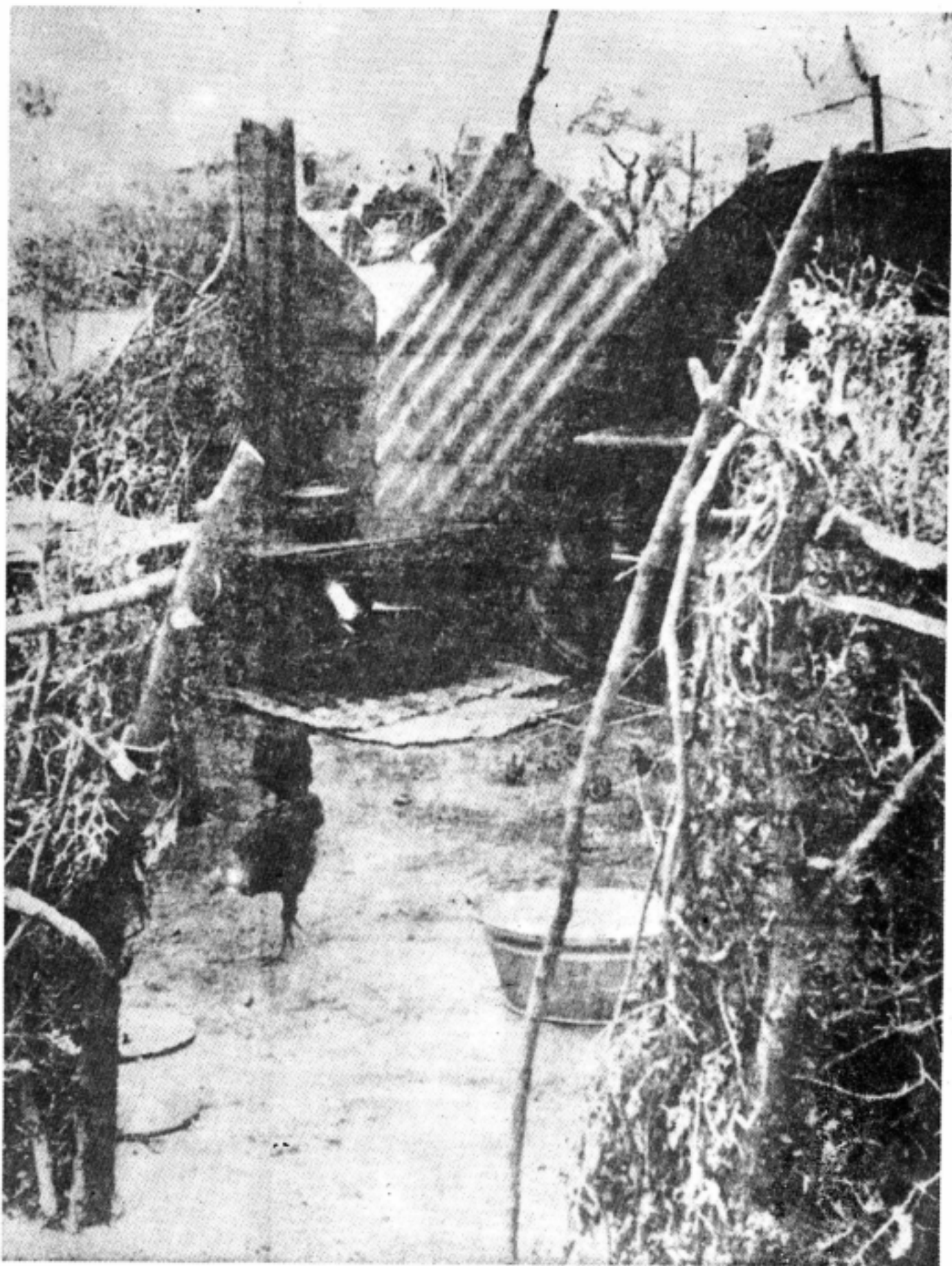
The RAND DAILY MAIL describes Morsgat as it was - ten months later! What improvements had been made in that stretch of bush with the unpitched tents scattered over it? The inhabitants have firewood (often absent

in new settlements). This however is because they had to clear the bush themselves. They are still using these bushes and branches from the dense bush. In the evening, children can be seen walking through the settlement balancing bundles of firewood on their heads - bundles which dwarf their emaciated bodies.

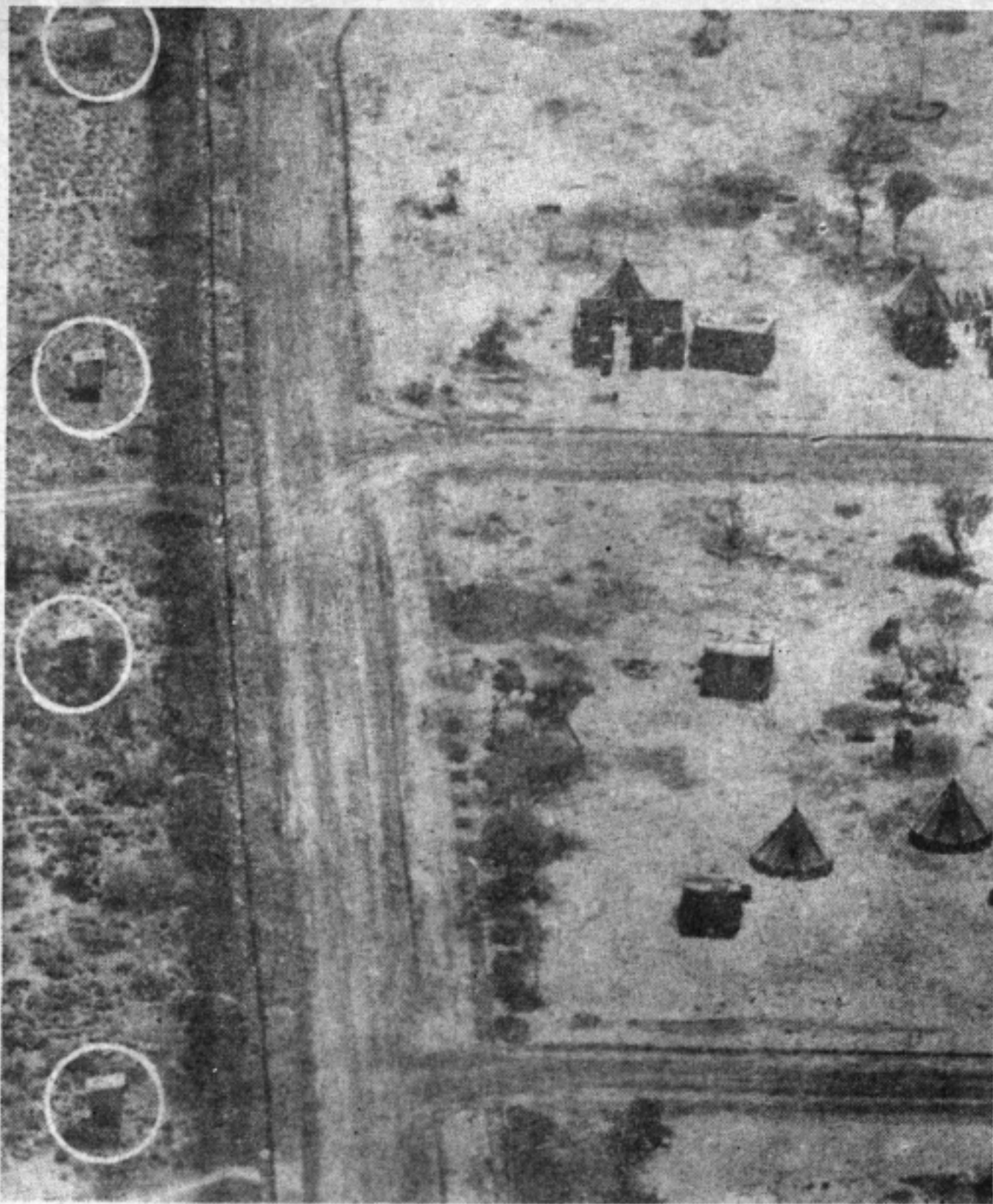
Water is available from a borehole, about 150 yards from the nearest tents and about a third of a mile from the furthest. Water has to be carried in tins (a 4-gallon tin of water weighs 40 lb.)

What of this water? There is no shortage of it, but the people say, 'It makes your stomach run.' There have been widespread attacks of gastroenteritis, and some people have passed blood. A newly proposed wa-

Home - - -







This aerial picture of a street in the Morsgat settlement scheme shows, ringed, a row of latrines.

bricks at a cost of R 80 – around £ 40 – per house. When this was suggested at a meeting, one resident says, 'One of the people who worked with builders said this was too much and he was told he was a communist.' Asked why he could not afford a house, one quarry worker looked at the questioner as if he were mad. Then, politely, he explained.

He earns R 4 a week – around £ 2 – and he has a wife, and three small children. His wife used to work seasonally on farms surrounding Chachalaza (where he works in the slate quarries, and where the family used to live) but now, at Morsgat, there is no work for her. So the family wage remains only R 4. Is that understood? Well, the return bus fare (per trip) between Cachalaza and Morsgat is R1. 80 (9 sh). Because it is so high, he can only visit his family once every two weeks, at the weekend. That means he has R 6. 20 (just over £ 3) to keep himself and the four other members of his family alive for two weeks.

## FOOD

Food, he says. That's the trouble. He pats his stomach. Food.

'They can build a nice little house for about R1, 000,' says the White works foreman at Morsgat.

Families at Morsgat speak of starvation, malnutrition, skin diseases and stomach troubles. There is no clinic at Morsgat. A nurse does not visit. The District Surgeon, Dr. N. J. Grobler, will not say how often the doctor visits nor will he give details of the tent town's health. 'I am not allowed to give information to the Press,' he says.

## 'HORRIBLE TO SEE'

One of most prevalent complaints is – sores. A senior White official at one of the quarries bears this out. 'I never believed a human skin could carry so many sores,' he says of Morsgat children he has seen.

He does not go into Morsgat – 'White people must have a permit' – but the children of some of his workers have been brought to him at the quarry.

'It was terrible, horrible to see,' he says, grimacing. There is also a disease in which the skin peels off the body. 'To see some children, you would think they had been scalded by boiling water,' one woman says.

man waste under some control. But their presence was illegal – and on official instructions, the residents were forced to slaughter them.

## STILL LIVING IN TENTS

Ten months after the removal, the families were still living in tents.

It is not as if they liked the tents. They say that they are flooded in heavy rains, and choked with dust when the wind blows. They are cold in winter – last year, the midwinter temperature in the area was 3 degrees above zero. The people say the authorities promised that the tents would be removed in a month or two. However they were not removed. And the suggestion the authorities have made for replacing them is that the residents should buy

ter supply has come in the form of a large tank, covered with a layer of foulsmelling green slime.

## NO LAVATORIES

No sanitary pits had been dug before the families arrived – and there are still none.

'We started to dig pits,' says a resident, 'but they told us to stop. They promised us lavatories but we haven't seen them yet. Now we use the veld.' Families living on the edge of the settlement suffer most from this practice. 'The stink is terrible after the rains' says one elderly woman.

Until a month or two before the RAND DAILY MAIL's visit, there was some sanitary relief in the form of a dozen black pigs which kept hu-



'There is not a single person here who has not suffered from peeling skin.'

The children of Morsgat show the signs of malnutrition, the thin limbs and unnaturally distended stomachs.

## FAMILIES KEPT APART

A small prefab shop stocks a meagre supply of overpriced goods – but the inhabitants cannot afford to go elsewhere to shop . . . they cannot afford the fares.

Worse even than the hunger, some of the people feel, is the separation. The men cannot afford to live with their families (as we see from the story of the man above who earned R4 per week). Separated, they find what has always been a hard life is now transformed into a nightmare. One man, who was brought news at the quarry that his child had died could not afford the bus fare 'home'. He borrowed a bicycle and it took him all day to get to Morsgat. Next morning he dug the grave and buried his son.

— — — And some looking as though they had been blown together in a high wind.

## AFRAID TO SPEAK

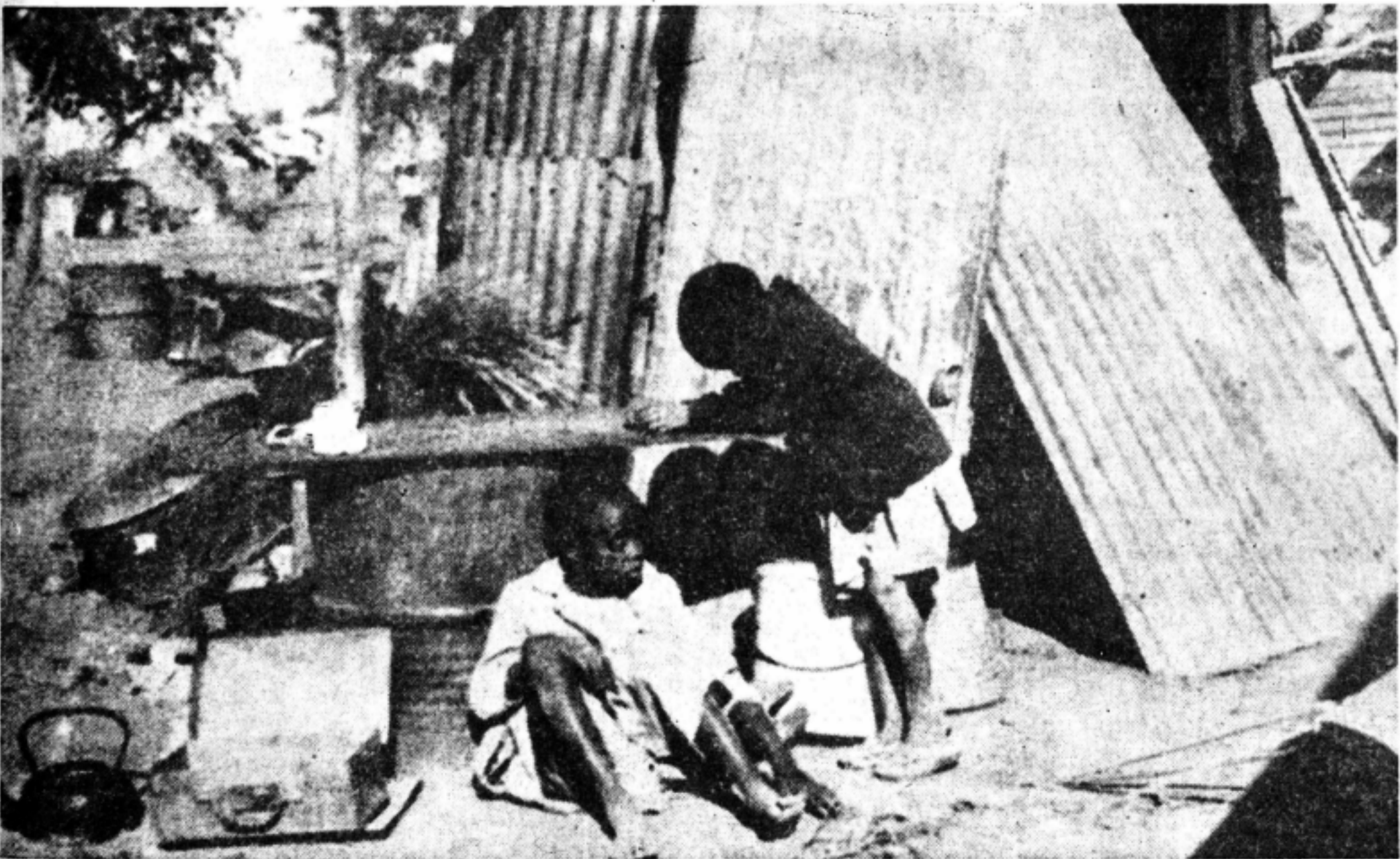
Even though they were Africans, the MAIL reporters found the inhabitants fearful to speak to them. The tale of Morsgat's horrors came out falteringly in fragments. One resident says that once before, people came to ask questions and White plain clothes police came and interrogated families. Another woman says she will talk inside her tent. Halfway through the interview, a couple of children ran past, screaming 'Pickup' (the police pickup van, which is the dread of every African settlement). When they have gone, she says No, she cannot talk after all.

At the end of the reporters' visit, a van screamed up. Out jumped policemen with sticks, and also a White official. This was the 'superintendent', who lives three miles away. And before the reporters were carted away for questioning by the police, he said he couldn't understand why newspapers should be interested in Morsgat.

'It's a lovely place,' he said.



Four gallons of water. It weighs 40 lbs and has to be carried 600 yards twice a day every day.





# OUR ANTI-IMPERIALIST COMMITMENT

by Alfred Nzo, Secretary General, African National Congress

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## Historical Background

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The foundation of the character and role of the White racist regime in South Africa in world imperialism were established the very moment that the Whites landed, settled and invaded South Africa.

From that moment to date South Africa became a vital and strategic area for European colonial powers in their hideous plots to conquer and subjugate, pillage and plunder, oppress and exploit the peoples of Africa and Asia. The involvement of South Africa in colonialism in its pre-imperialist stage is interlinked with its present role in world imperialism and in turn the irredeemable commitment of the European imperialist powers to the White racist and fascist South African regime.

At first, the interest of the colonial powers like Portugal, Spain and Holland in the Cape was to find a sea route to the East with the aim of finding an easy and convenient way of plundering raw materials, like spices, cotton, sugar and tobacco and also to find a market for European industrial goods.

The voyages of Vasco da Gama and other navigators who found the sea route round the Cape made a dramatic change in the enrichment of the trade and industry in Europe. The trade route via the Cape ensured a continuously expanding market for European industrial goods and rapid increase of raw materials.

But even when Vasco da Gama first landed at Mossel Bay, in November/December, 1497 and was received with hospitality and kindness by our people who were herdsmen and shepherds, he looked with greedy eyes at the cattle of our people and their grazing land. He thanked their generosity by naming the area the Bay of Cows and erected a landmark which still exists, claiming that the land belonged to the King of Portugal. This was the first act of shameless robbery in South Africa.

Britain, France and Holland and other powers later joined in the struggle for the supremacy of the seas and the seizure of colonies in Africa and Asia. This struggle involved primarily the dominance and control of the Cape which was the most strategic gateway to the East.

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## Colonisation

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The Dutch in 1652 colonised and occupied part of South Africa known as the Cape of Good Hope, their initial purpose was to establish a half-way refreshment station for the ships of the Dutch East India Company and others which were plying their booty of plunder from the East and industrial goods from Europe. This was the beginning of the most ruthless plunder of the land, and cattle of our people the Khoisan and Khoikhoi. The Khoisan were the victims of the most barbaric genocide and were virtually exterminated. The Khoikhoi were robbed of their cattle and forced to work as slaves. This period began the robbery and enslavement of our people in the interests of European colonial commerce and colonialism. It also marked the beginning of colonial expansion of the European colonialists into the interior of South Africa.

European colonial powers did not confine themselves to the plunder of the raw materials but also began a brutal and inhuman traffic of slaves from Africa and Asia, to west European countries and other colonies. The Cape became deeply involved in this sordid international slave trade and slaves were imported and exported. The Cape became one of the important international slave markets. This accounts for its mixed population today, Malays from Batavia, Africans from Mozambique and as far as West Africa.

The slave trade crippled the social, political and economic development of Africa. It greatly impoverished the continent but accelerated the development of European capitalism. It was an important factor in the partition of Africa amongst a few European countries. South Africa, undeveloped as she was then, played an important part in this tragic, callous and criminal accumulation of wealth and capital together with European colonialists. Through sla-





very South African White economy also developed. Comfort, luxury and wealth were the prerogatives of the Whites; poverty, misery and suffering were the plight of the slaves. Thus was laid the foundations of a society in South Africa which closely resembled the wealthy economic advancement of the European colonialists and the appalling poverty of the colonial countries.

Very early in this history the White settlers had developed a community of interests with the European colonial powers politically and ideologically, they were the agents of European colonial interests and shared in the piratical booty. The European powers justified their inhuman acts in Africa by claiming that the Africans were savages who had to be civilized – racialism, that abominable doctrine was also adopted by the Whites in South Africa. It has remained to this day, in its most virulent form, apartheid, as the ideology of oppression and exploitation of the non-White people. It is defended and protected overtly and covertly by South African imperialist allies.

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## White Expansion and Aggression

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The Dutch invaders were later followed by the British and our country and people became the arena of conflicting interests of European colonial interests and the interests of a group of White settlers who had colonial interests in South Africa.

The Dutch settlers had adopted expansionist predatory and aggressive policies towards our people, in order to capture their land, cattle and labour. Their aggression met with fierce resistance from our people. Wars were waged for over 200 years. Wherever the Dutch or Boers went they were defeated. Had it not been for the arrival of the British the course of South African history might well have been different.

The arrival of the British forces at the beginning of the 19th century brought about radical changes in the resistance struggle of our people. The forces of colonialism and national oppression were greatly increased.

After a protracted struggle of more than 250 years our people were overwhelmed and subdued at the close of the 19th century.

There were many reasons for this calamitous defeat, and many lessons for future leaders to learn from the grave mistakes and weaknesses which resulted from our defeat. Our people fought an enemy with superior modern weapons like guns, while our people were virtually unarmed, except for spears. In addition our people were not nationally united in the country. The colonizers fought tribes separately and at different times.

But even more fundamental was the fact that towards the middle of the 19th century colonialism had assumed its new phase of international monopoly finance capitalism, known as imperialism. Our people fought their battles in isolation from other oppressed and exploited peoples of the continent and the world, whereas despite their conflicts and contradictions the imperialist powers were already developing as a combined international military, economic and political force, in the world.

In the 19th century, Britain which was then a leading imperialist state stepped up her colonial expansion in Africa. With the opening of the Suez Canal, the shortest route to the East, Egypt became of great importance.

But South Africa with its strategic geographical position and favourable climate became the target of European colonialism and in particular British imperialism.

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## The Development of Capitalism in S.A.

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The discovery of large gold and diamond deposits towards the end of the 19th century in South Africa was a significant land-mark in the economic and political history of the country. It ushered in the rapid development of capitalism in a country which was previously basically agricultural and pastoral.

Mining which was basically controlled by Cecil Rhodes' De Beers Mining Company developed into a world monopoly, linked South African economy more closely with international capital and imperialism. Cecil Rhodes, the most rabid and outspoken British imperialist dreamt of the most heartless and ruthless exploitation of the land, labour power and resources of Africa. For this criminal plan, South Africa was the base and starting point, and springboard. British capital ruthlessly seized extensive territories in Africa under Cecil Rhodes' evil imperialist projects. These included what were called Northern Rhodesia and Southern Rhodesia, which are now Zambia and Zimbabwe. British monopolist capitalists captured large resources of diamond and gold fields and fertile land.

These predatory schemes resulted in one of the first imperialist wars in South Africa, – the Anglo-Boer war. The British were intent on dislodging the Boers from the gold and mining areas which the Boers had through fraud and subterfuge occupied in the Cape and Transvaal. The Anglo-Boer war of 1899–1902 ended with the military defeat of the Boers. The African people were vitally interested in the war because by typical British duplicity the British pretended that the war was not an imperialist war for British monopoly finance interests, but one to assist the Africans to free themselves from Boer domination.

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## Bitter Betrayal

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The Africans made outstanding sacrifices and rendered invaluable service to the British. They made a direct contribution to British victory in the hope that this would result



in radical social, economic and political changes. They repeated these sacrifices again in the 1st and 2nd world wars.

The reward of the Africans was the shameless and bitter betrayal of their political interests in the Vereeniging Peace Conference. Their position was worse than before the Anglo-Boer war. The British imperialists had achieved their own economic purpose and left all political power in the hands of the Boers and other Europeans to carry out as their agents the most ruthless deprivation of the land of our people, their enslavement in the growing mining industrial and agricultural complex, which has now made South Africa what it is, the most highly developed country in Africa.

The De Beers Company and about seven of the largest gold mine Companies composed of White local bourgeoisie and the capitalists established control over mining and nearly the entire manufacturing industries in South Africa. These are the foundations which started South Africa on its capitalist and imperialist path. The rapid development of capitalism was fundamentally due to the most brutal exploitation of African cheap labour. The betrayal by the British is now being repeated in Zimbabwe for similar reasons.

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## **S.A's Position in the Imperialist System**

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South Africa is unique in the capitalist and imperialist systems of the world. It combines the most special and backward forms of colonialism, for the bulk of the African population, and the most advanced forms of capitalism, imperialism, neo-colonialism and fascism.

The economic and mineral wealth of South Africa is to say the least, fabulous. It accounts for 75% of the gold mined in the capitalist world, it has valuable minerals like copper, iron ore, coal, manganese, diamonds, chromium, nickel, thorium, vanadium, lithium, uranium and numerous others. It is a treasure house and jewel for foreign capital and investment.

The estimated foreign investment in South Africa is approximately £3,000 million of which Britain accounts for about 60% and U.S. 13%. Through the ruthless exploitation of African labour the rates of profits in South Africa are higher than anywhere in the world. The British monopolists are guaranteed 12.5% profit as against 8.5% in the rest of the world, the U.S. 20.6% as against 10.4% Japan, West Germany and other western countries have made South Africa the hunting ground for super-profits.

South African companies like the Anglo-American Company under Harry Oppenheimer and many others have all got interlocking interests and directorships with British and U.S. companies. Economically therefore, the South African racists who cling to Apartheid are an integral and key part of the sinister plot of exploitation by the imperialists on an international scale. The merger of White S.A. capital with international finance has been a specific feature of S.A. penetration in the economies in many countries in Africa and elsewhere.

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## **Imperialism's United Interest**

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There is no other country in the world in which the imperialists have been prepared to relegate their differences to the background and unite their efforts economically, technically and militarily as they have done in South Africa.

White South Africa is the bastion and bulwark of the reactionary aggressive and subversive imperialist global conspiracy against Africa and the world. This conspiracy is de-

signed to perpetuate the exploitation of man by man to try and regain the position of dominance of imperialism in the world by attempting to subvert socialist and progressive states. Through numerous acts of wanton aggression and provocation the imperialists menace the security of Africa and the world. The South African racists are active in this diabolical role.

It is therefore no accident that the whole rotten system of Apartheid and racialism in South Africa is faithfully and consistently defended by western imperialist powers. The destiny and fate of the imperialist powers is inextricably bound up with the fate of their racist fortress in South Africa.

The White racists have repeatedly claimed that they have a common destiny with the western powers and that they are part of the western capitalist system. They also claim that in Africa they are the gendarme which is prepared to fight communism anywhere. By 'communism' they mean the national liberation movement and the African revolution for national, political and economic independence.

The imperialist powers have confirmed their vital dependence on the racists government of S.A. by providing it with massive and all-round economic, technical, financial assistance to fortify it as a partner of reaction and subversion. Britain, the U.S., France, West Germany, Italy and Belgium have feverishly assisted to build a monstrous arsenal which includes missiles, napalm bombs, atomic weapons, submarines, helicopters and tanks and planes, which have made Botha the defence minister boast that S.A. was now self sufficient as far as arms were concerned.

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## **South Africa and Nato**

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This huge military force in S.A. has been deliberately and systematically built up to suppress the national liberatory movement in Southern Africa, to intimidate and endanger the independent states of Africa and where necessary to invade them, and to assist, the imperialist powers in the event of a third world war. Already there are negotiations either to include S.A. in N.A.T.O. or to establish an agent of N.A.T.O. called the South Atlantic Treaty Organisation. If ever proof was needed of the importance of the White minority regimes in the global strategy of the imperialists, this is sufficient.

The propaganda, psychological warfare and intelligence organs of the imperialists and the White regime co-operate and work in close co-ordination.

It is not necessary to deal here in detail with that discredited unholy alliance between Vorster, Smith and Caetano. It has already been sufficiently exposed as an appendage and component of the whole imperialist conspiracy.

The South African fascists together with Portugal and West Germany are busy with plans for the resurgence of nazism and they still dream that the ghost of Hitler could be revived and the nazi reich be re-established to rule the world forever.

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## **The ANC in the Anti-Imperialist Anti-Racist and Anti-Fascist Structure**

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It is with the foregoing background that it is necessary to examine and assess the importance which the African National Congress attaches to the unity and growing strength of the anti-imperialist forces of the world and its own contribution towards the anti-imperialist movement in Africa and the world.

Since its inception the ANC set itself the task to be : -  
(a) The true expression of African nationhood, the symbol



of African unity, the mouthpiece of the oppressed people of South Africa and the instrument for their national emancipation.

(b) An organisation of a new type created to meet the complex and difficult situation arising from foreign domination and exploitation. The ANC was established for the purpose of destroying foreign domination and injustices in the political, economic, and social spheres, and to win back for the African people of S.A. their rightful position as shapers and controllers of the destiny of their country.

There can be no doubt that the victory of the African people in South Africa would be a major blow against foreign domination and western imperialism.

From the very beginning the African National Congress recognised that the whole of Africa was the victim of rapacious partition and plunder by foreign powers, and that all the people of Africa suffered oppression, exploitation, and humiliation at the hands of foreigners. The Unity of the people of S. A. was not sufficient, the seizure of power from the foreigners in S.A. alone was not sufficient, what was of importance was that the whole of Africa should be emancipated from foreign rule and the Africans be restored to their rightful position as the rulers of their countries. This fundamental belief in the liberation of the whole continent was expressed in the slogans "Mayibuye iAfrica" (come back Africa) and in its national anthem which is a solemn demand for the freedom and self-determination of all the people of Africa.

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## Freedom for Africa

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The ANC's demand for the freedom of Africa was not only contained and confined to slogans, anthems, declarations and speeches but it was translated into action. Contacts were made with leaders in Africa, and representatives of the ANC attended all pan-African conferences with a view to promoting African unity.

Another factor which brought the S.A. people closer to their other African brothers was the gold mining industry. Through the gold mining industry South Africa was at once the greatest importer of foreign capital and the greatest exploiter and importer of labour from the African continent and even from as far as China. International capital and African labour from many countries thus met in S.A. under conditions of the most ruthless exploitation. In a way it was the repetition of the slave era under capitalist conditions. The importation of labour was not only confined to the mines but extended to almost all other economic fields. Indentured Indian labour was imported for the sugar fields. The brutal oppression and exploitation of all these nationalities by the White racists, feudal masters, local and foreign capitalists sowed the seeds for united action both within S.A. and in those African countries from which the migrant labourers were imported. Organisations modelled on the ANC were formed in some countries in Africa.

The African National Congress conducted vigorous campaigns and struggles of different forms against the White ruling class.

In order to arouse international support delegations were sent to Europe. The then President of the ANC James Gumede attended the militant conference of the League against Imperialism and was invited to tour the Soviet Union in 1925.

In addition to its activities against local oppression and exploitation, the ANC has organised demonstrations and meetings in support of the struggles of peoples of other countries against atrocities and for national independence. In direct contrast, wherever the imperialists have been involved in their acts of aggression the White South African army and public have rendered immediate and active

assistance. This they have done, in Korea, Kantanga, Israel, Mozambique, Angola and Zimbabwe, as a committed sector in the global strategy of the imperialists.

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## An Anti-Imperialist Detachment

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Just as the White racialists are the nerve centre of the imperialist powers, so too, the African National Congress and the oppressed and exploited peoples of South Africa are an important detachment, a vital and integral part of the anti-imperialist movement. This is particularly the case today when the South African White regime has graduated to be a fully-fledged imperialist state, which interferes in the internal affairs of African states, menaces and threatens their security and has the audacity to brazenly annex Namibia in defiance of O.A.U. and U.N. decisions and resolutions.

The Minister of Defence P. Botha has stated that whatever the situation might be with other western countries, South Africa was already involved in a third world war, militarily, economically and diplomatically. On the 25th October, Hildgard Muller stated in Britain that South Africa is no longer on the defensive, her priority was Africa. He also deplored Britain's compliance with the arms embargo. The South African racists are carrying out a vigorous, planned and systematic political, psychological, economic, neocolonialist and military offensive which is a danger to the security of Africa, Europe and the world. This is their part in the global strategy of the imperialists.

In this situation we share with all the anti-imperialist forces of the world and particularly the heroic people of Vietnam our common aims, objectives and action against our common enemies, the imperialists and their agents.

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## Our Fundamental Task

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We know that our fundamental task is to face the enemy in the immediate arena of battle, in South Africa and Southern Africa which is the fortress of reaction, but this task is inextricably linked with our unavoidable duty of contributing to the potential strength and unity of the anti-imperialist movement.

We have said before and we still repeat that at this grave and critical time the clarion call is "Anti-imperialists of the World Unite." Unite to work out a global strategy of joint action to smash in the shortest possible time and with the minimum cost of life, the monster of imperialism, racism and fascism which has caused so much misery and suffering. In carrying out this sacred mission the African National Congress of South Africa will not be found wanting both in the forums of the anti-imperialist movement nor in action in its own sector, South Africa and Southern Africa. Already the ZAPU ANC alliance has started an armed struggle in one of the most difficult and fortified imperialist bases. Our brothers in Mozambique, Angola and Portuguese Guinea are routing the Portuguese fascists.

The struggle in South Africa is going to be long, difficult, bitter and costly. But it is a struggle to liberate our own people and a battle to destroy one of the main pillars of imperialism.

With the massive assistance of the mighty and invincible anti-imperialist forces, victory will be ours and fascism, racialism and imperialism will rapidly approach their day of doom. We have no doubt that victory in Southern Africa will make a qualitative change and an important contribution in the world struggle for freedom and world peace.

**LONG LIVE THE ANTI-IMPERIALIST FORCES**



# VIOLENT REACTION TO RUGBY TOUR

Despite massive demonstrations wherever they have played the all-white Springbok rugby team have succeeded in completing the first part of their British tour.

But this collaboration with apartheid in sport has been achieved only by turning each of the grounds into a miniature police state, on the South African model.

Some of the methods which have been used by Callaghan's blue-clad collaborators have been dangerously reminiscent of the methods of their South African counterparts.

By their mere presence, protecting the practitioners of apartheid, the police have, of course, adopted a political role. But, at some centres, they seem to have performed



# ANGRY THOUSANDS ACT







# AGAINST ALL-WHITE TEAM

their odious duties with a relish which indicates more than a sneaking sympathy for Vorster and his henchmen.

At Edinburgh, for example, eye-witness accounts state that the police hid truncheons up their sleeves, and used these to beat the demonstrators when well out of reach of press cameras. Both at Swansea and Edinburgh, photographers were threatened with arrest when they attempted to take pictures of these and other brutalities.

Outside the Twickenham ground the Hon. Secretary of the British Anti-Apartheid Movement, Mr Abdul Minty, was subjected to a blatant instance of police discrimination. He was standing with a completely peaceful crowd of demonstrators, who were cordoned off by a ring of policemen. A well-dressed man began striding towards him from the opposite side of the road, holding his camera case on high in a threatening manner. Naively believing that the police cordon would protect him, Mr. Minty stood his ground. As the man approached, however, the police cordon opened to allow him through. At the last minute, Mr. Minty raised the megaphone which he was carrying, thereby protecting himself from a massive blow with the camera case. (In view of the damage done to the megaphone, it would appear that the camera case was filled with stones or lead weights). The policeman ignored Mr. Minty's requests to arrest his assailant, and said that if he persisted, he would arrest Mr. Minty himself!

In the same demonstration, an African student who was standing peaceably with the anti-apartheid crowd was picked out, seemingly at random, by the police, and later

charged with assault, with intent to do grievous bodily harm. He was only released on bail of £2000.

The attitude of the government, as elsewhere on the apartheid question, has been to pay lip-service to an abhorrence of South African policies, and to continue to play a clear collaborationist role.

One of the manifestations of this hypocrisy is that the British taxpayer has been forced to pay the price for the protection of racialism in sport. At Manchester, for example, the total police cost for the game was £7,500. The Club received a bill for only £333.15s – less than five percent. If every Club had been forced to pay the full cost of their support for apartheid, then the chances are that the tour would have been called off already.

## Quote...

South African Sport is utterly Nazi. In pre-war Germany, if your name was Goldstein you did not represent the Reich at football. In South Africa if you are black or brown you do not represent the Afrikaner Reich at Rugby, no matter how good you are.

—John Pilger Daily Mirror.





Another aspect of government collaboration has been their willingness to allow the use of government property for the match against Combined Services at Aldershot. The guilty man here is, of course, Dennis Healey, well known for his support of the resumption of the bloody traffic in arms with the South African oppressors. The ground is now being guarded day and night after slogans had been painted on the stand, and glass scattered on the pitch.

Although the stand taken by the collaborators with racialism has been sickeningly predictable, the firm action taken by progressive and anti-racist people against the tour provides an encouraging pointer for the future.

The total numbers involved in the demonstrations (20,000 to date, at a conservative estimate) is a tribute to the effective groundwork done over a decade by the Anti-Apartheid Movement, SANROC and other organisations concerned to stamp out racist sport.

The militancy of the demonstrators – and they have suffered physical violence and state-backed persecution without succumbing – is a mark of solidarity with the heroic freedom-fighters of the African National Congress.

Prominent among those who have called for the stopping of the tour have been progressive elements among the British and Irish workers. In a magnificent gesture of solidarity with their oppressed brother workers in South Africa, the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (representing 350,000 Irish workers) called on its members to refuse to provide any services for the Springbok team. A large portion of the crowd which demonstrated against the Cardiff match con-

sisted of Welsh mineworkers. Earlier their delegates had stated, "It affronts all that is best in our sporting activities." All over Britain, Trades Councils have written to Dennis Howell, British Minister of Sport, urging him to cancel the remainder of the tour.

Throughout the tour, but particularly at Leicester and Cardiff, Black Britons have joined in the demonstrations, showing their support for the struggle being waged against apartheid in South Africa.

The overall result of the tour has been a massive mobilisation of the forces in British society which are prepared to oppose racialism actively. The first consequence of this development must be an effort, with renewed vigour, to ensure the withdrawal of the M.C.C.'s invitation to an all-white South African cricket team to visit here next summer. If the tour comes off, then it appears likely that it will be totally disrupted. It will prove virtually impossible to keep a much larger number of police on guard for eight hours a day, six days a week. Racist sport will prove to be a luxury that Britain cannot afford.

The sports issue, however, important though it is to the morale of the South African whites, is only a beginning. Collaboration with White supremacy assumes its most effective and fundamental form in the field of British capitalist involvement in Southern Africa. The militancy and the energy unleashed by the present tour must be harnessed to the destruction of the trading and investment links between Britain and Southern Africa. This will be an even more effective contribution to the freedom struggle being waged by the African liberation movements.



## Quotes...

● The finest example of a sporting campaign today is that aimed at South Africa's colour bar. For here, a political policy HAS intruded on sport . . . the non-whites of South Africa are denied various sporting privileges, notably of national representation within their own borders.

"Sportsmen if they feel like it (and they should), must campaign earnestly and drastically against such discrimination. Unhappily, we live in an age when if a man campaigns loudly about something in sport we should shake off our soft complacency and do something about it.

Remember: we shall be campaigning not against mere politics in sport. By doing so we may effect politics generally." — Phil Pilley, Morning Star.

## ● DISSERVICE MEDAL

Mr. Vorster, South African Prime Minister, who refused to allow an MCC side including the Cape coloured cricketer, Basil D'Oliveira to tour South Africa has been awarded the South African Sports Foundation's gold medal "for exceptional services to sport."

— The Daily Telegraph.



## SEQUEL TO ATTACK ON SOUTH AFRICA HOUSE

A demonstration outside South Africa House, London, last year in which windows in and around the building were broken leading to a number of arrests led to two convictions recently. Nine of those arrested were held over for trial at the Old Bailey, all of them charged with riot and each of them independently charged with a number of offences ranging from possession of offensive weapons to assaulting the police. The case ended on the second day of the fifth week of the trial. Eleven barristers, including the Chief Treasury Counsel, were employed throughout. The total cost of the case is estimated at £50,000. The defendants were found not guilty on all the charges, save three. Edward Devoren, the Revolutionary Socialists Students' Federation

leader, was found guilty on two charges of assault, and given two suspended sentences of six months. One other demonstrator, Kenneth Murray, was also found guilty of assault and received a suspended sentence.

During the trial a detective Chief Inspector revealed that he had taken part in the demonstrations pretending to be a demonstrator, wearing jeans and a sweater and chanting "Smith Out." In addition it emerged that two accused who were said by the police to have taken a leading part in the demonstration were members of the National Front, a rightwing organisation. They were both acquitted.



# WE DETEST APARTHEID-

Says President Seretse Khama



His Excellency Sir Seretse Khama, President of the Republic of Botswana, made an important policy statement at the 24th Session of the U.N. General Assembly. The speech coincides with the revelation that Botswana has an abundance of mineral wealth which has led to an upsurge of confidence among the Botswana people. Voices are now being raised for a clearer identification with the oppressed people in South Africa, for recognition of the historic role played by the guerrillas in the neighbouring countries, and for the repudiation of closer links with South Africa. While we differ with the President on how change is to come about in South Africa, we welcome his stress on the principle of majority rule which is absolutely fundamental for the whole of Southern Africa.

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## THE THREAT OF RACIALISM

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Southern Africa lives with the dangers of violent racial conflict. I want this afternoon to discuss the threat of racialism as it affects Southern Africa, and in particular my own country, Botswana. And, within Southern Africa, I should like in particular to draw this Assembly's attention to a problem which I fear some powerful countries would prefer to forget. I refer to the problem of Rhodesia, which the people of Botswana are in no position to forget. May I remind you of our geographical position and our historical circumstances. Botswana is almost entirely encircled by minority-ruled territories. We have a long and indefensible border with Rhodesia, and a long border with Namibia and with South Africa itself. The only railway running between Rhodesia and South Africa passes through Botswana. Not only is this railway operated by Rhodesia Railways, but it is vital to both Rhodesian and South African interests. It is also vital to Botswana because it provides our only outlet to the sea and to export markets overseas. Through this route must come the capital goods neces-

sary for our development. Unlike some other states in Southern and Central Africa we have no practical alternative outlet.

We are for historical reasons part of a customs area dominated by the industrial might of the Republic of South Africa. We share the monetary system of the Republic of South Africa. Our trade and transport systems are inextricably inter-locked with those of South Africa. So meagre are our own employment prospects that we have for many years been obliged to permit some of our young men to go and work in the mines of South Africa. In the immediately foreseeable future we can find no way of providing alternative employment for all these men, nor can we afford to dispense with their earnings.

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## UNUSUAL HANDICAPS

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Botswana thus faces unusual and onerous handicaps, but we also face an unusual and challenging opportunity. I should like to describe our position because I believe it will give member states a useful insight into the problem the world faces when considering the question of minority-rule in Southern Africa. I should like to explain how Botswana is responding, not only to the challenge of underdevelopment, but also to the challenge posed by our powerful neighbours whose way of life is not our way of life and whose values are the reverse of our own.

When my government took office in 1965 we were faced with a problem of underdevelopment of classic proportions. Such development programmes as were initiated under colonialism no more than scratched the surface of our problems. Most important of all, in contrast to other British colonies, there had been practically no attempt to train Botswana to run their own country. Not one single secondary school was completed by the colonial government during the whole seventy years of British rule. There was little provision for vocational training even at the lowest levels. The roads, water supplies, power supplies on which industrial development is based were totally inadequate. We were in the humiliating position of not knowing many of the basic facts about Botswana on which development plans could be based. We are still learning about the resources of our own country . . .



## NO NEW COLONIALISM

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Botswana is now on the threshold of new and major development. Since independence it has been discovered that we are blessed with mineral resources, which if exploited, offer us a prospect of financial self-sufficiency during the 1970's and in the long run the hope of healthy balanced development in all sectors. My government is in the midst of negotiating international loan finance for these developments. It is a matter of the greatest concern for us that this money is raised from the right source on the right terms. For despite all the handicaps of geography, climate and the legacy of colonial neglect, **the people of Botswana have now embarked on the struggle to reduce our dependence on neighbouring minority-ruled territories.** Only in this way can people of Botswana reap the full benefits of independence. We feel that only in this way can the fruits of our labours be fully enjoyed. **We did not win independence from the British to lose it to a new form of colonialism from any source whatever.**

Yet we accept that we are part of Southern Africa and that the harsh facts of history and geography cannot be obliterated overnight. We recognise that in our present circumstances we must continue to remain members of the Southern African Customs Union and the South African Monetary area. We have noted South Africa's assurances of friendly intentions towards Botswana and other independent states. We have noted South Africa's offers to assist other African states in their development. Botswana, together with Lesotho and Swaziland, are in the process of concluding lengthy negotiations with South Africa on a new customs agreement. **In these negotiations we have not been seeking aid. Our objective has been to secure an equitable distribution of the revenues of the customs area, and the opportunity to protect our infant industries while retaining access to the South African market.** We welcome private investment in Botswana from any source which seeks to build in partnership with our people and not to drain us of our resources with little or no return to the country. We are confident that we can co-exist with the Republic of South Africa without sacrificing our national interest or our fundamental principles.

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## CONDEMN APARTHEID

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**We have made no secret of our detestation of apartheid.** Although for obvious reasons we are obliged to interpret strictly the principle of non-interference in the affairs of other sovereign states, we have not hidden our views. Our voice has been heard in this Assembly and in other international forums in favour of universal self-determination, in support of peaceful solutions to international conflicts throughout the world, and in pleas for a realistic appraisal of what can be achieved by this organisation.

**Living, as we do, face to face with the realities of apartheid we have little sympathy with token demonstrations and empty gestures. Yet we have unequivocally condemned the theory and practice of apartheid and we deplore its intensification and particularly the extension of the full apparatus of apartheid to the International Trust Territory of Namibia.** Nevertheless, for obvious reasons however, Botswana must maintain diplomatic contacts with South Africa. For equally obvious reasons we decline to consider an exchange of diplomatic representatives until South Africa can fully guarantee that Botswana's representatives will in **all** respects, at **all** times and in **all** places be treated in the same way as diplomats from other countries.

## NO RELATIONS WITH PORTUGAL

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We have expressed our opposition to Portugal's unyielding refusal to permit any progress towards self-determination in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea (Bissau). We have declined to entertain diplomatic relations with the Portuguese in the absence of any commitment on the part of Portugal to allow the indigenous people of their so-called overseas provinces to proceed to independence. Our criticism of Portugal's policies is not based on an argument about the timing of a programme for progress towards self-determination, but on the point blank refusal of the Portuguese Government to concede that these territories can ever choose to move towards independence . . .

One consequence of our geographical position is that Botswana has provided a refuge for many who have found themselves unable for one reason or another to continue to live in neighbouring minority-ruled territories. Botswana recognises a responsibility to these victims of political circumstance, and we are trying to discharge this responsibility as well as our resources permit. Refugees come to Botswana from Angola, Mozambique, Rhodesia, South West Africa and South Africa. At present there are more than 4,000 recognised refugees in Botswana. My government acceded to the United Nations General Convention and to the 1967 Protocol relating to the status of refugees in January this year.

Botswana grants asylum and assistance to genuine political refugees who seek our aid. The financial burden of doing so would have been heavy were it not for the generous assistance we received from the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, the World Food Programme, the World Council of Churches and other international bodies. For our part we have granted refugees recognition of their status. We have allowed them to settle in various parts of our country and find jobs or open their own businesses. And where possible, we educate them as well as our limited educational and training facilities permit. Equally important, we issue United Nations Travel Documents with a return clause to those refugees who wish to travel to other countries, where suitable training establishments are able to accept them. The majority of refugees in Botswana have come from Angola. These people have been settled on a hundred square mile farming scheme. Through training in agriculture and fishing, we hope that they, like many other refugees, will become integrated with the citizens of Botswana. We have welcomed them to our country. They can make their home with us until their own countries achieve a government acceptable to them.

I have already referred to certain constraints which Botswana faces when considering its position on Southern African issues. I have also mentioned certain principles which guide us. Our constant concern is to respect those constraints while not violating those principles.

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## RHODESIA

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The future of Rhodesia is of utmost possible concern to Botswana. I have referred to our long and indefensible common frontier. My government from the outset condemned the unilateral declaration of independence before majority rule. For that reason we joined the majority of Commonwealth countries in rejecting the "Fearless" proposals. We condemned in no uncertain terms the illegal regime's constitutional proposals which entrench discrimination and separate development, and which definitely block the possibility of a peaceful transition to majority



rule for which the 1961 constitution, at least in theory, provided. We recognise that these proposals, endorsed by an unrepresentative electorate, end the prospect of a peaceful transition to majority rule without some form of external intervention to secure this. These proposals are now being implemented by the Smith regime.

I warned the white minority in Rhodesia that by taking this course they were increasing the risk of violent conflict and endangering the stability of the region. Botswana is on record as favouring the re-assertion of British rule in Rhodesia. This course is the only one which offers a hope, however faint, of peaceful transition to majority rule. I recognise that the white minority in Rhodesia, conscious of the injustice it has implemented and fearing the justifiable bitterness of the oppressed African population, will feel the need for some guarantee that the transition to democratic non-racial government should be gradual and peaceful.

One way in which Britain could restore its authority is by the use of force. But I think that we must now accept, whether we approve of this decision or not, that Britain is not under present circumstances prepared to resort to force. Botswana feels that it follows that alternatives to force must be considered. There comes a point when one policy, having been pushed to its limits, must be accepted as having failed and must give way to another. It is essential that Britain be held to her legal and moral responsibility to the African majority in Rhodesia. There must be no absolutism. This I have to admit leaves us with a policy which, as many member states have argued in the past debates, has been far from successful. I refer to mandatory sanctions. Yet for all the frustrations and disappointments which the tardy application of sanctions has given rise to, it remains essential that they are in fact maintained and intensified. We feel that these sanctions serve an important purpose, even if they are not extended to include South Africa. Just as it is clear that neither Britain nor any other country will use military force against the Smith regime, it is clear that a boycott of South Africa on this or any other issue cannot be achieved. The existing sanctions are thus at the present time all that stand between the rebel regime's success and failure. That being the case, rather than dismissing the sanctions weapon as totally ineffective, it is surely wiser to try and make them as effective as possible.

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## SANCTIONS ARE IMPORTANT

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While it is important not to over-estimate the impact of sanctions it should not be too readily accepted that sanctions have had no effect at all on Rhodesia. From our vantage point we can see some of the effects of sanctions and I can assure this Assembly that they are not negligible. To permit them to be eroded at this point would be unnecessarily to concede defeat. Certain consequences would follow. The way would be open to diplomatic recognition by powers which are at the moment hanging back from this step: Rhodesia's links with Portugal and South Africa would be enormously strengthened and the whole minority position in Southern Africa would be consolidated.

There are, I am convinced, elements both in South Africa and Portugal, and in the world at large, who have serious doubts about the viability of Rhodesia as a white-ruled state, given its rapidly expanding African population and its handicapped economy. Lifting sanctions would liberate the fettered Rhodesia economy and serve to restore the confidence of such observers in the viability of continued white supremacy.

For this reason Botswana appeals to all member states to make what contribution they can to rendering sanctions

more effective. And here I should like to pay tribute to the work of the United Nations Supervisory Committee and of the Commonwealth Sanctions Committee. On their efforts rest the last hopes of preventing the illegal regime from imposing permanently its own version of apartheid on the people of Rhodesia, for whose welfare this organization has assumed a certain degree of responsibility. The present international isolation of the illegal regime and those who support it must be maintained. Our own difficulties in the matter of sanctions are obvious, but we are attempting to play our part within the limitations imposed by our frail economy and our landlocked position. We have prevented Rhodesia from using their railway to import arms and military supplies. Botswana's airline has ceased to fly into Rhodesia. We are preparing to do more. Botswana has committed itself to diverting long-standing trade with Rhodesia, despite the very considerable economic and administrative problems which such a course presents. Contingency planning is well advanced.

Our contribution to this struggle can only be a small one, for we are not a rich and powerful country. But we are hopeful that it will help to check the erosion of sanctions. There are other powers who live less closely with this problem than our selves but who can make greater contributions towards solving it.

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## INDEPENDENCE MUST BE PRESERVED

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May I conclude on a more general point, but one which also relates to Southern Africa. I have referred to Botswana's prospects of mineral development and of our hopes that this will permit us to dispense with budgetary aid and to develop a balanced and prosperous economy and a healthy non-racial democracy. We hope this for the sake of our people, but we also look forward to it with all the more eager anticipation because we recognise that it will permit us to make a greater contribution to solving the problem of our region. By this I do not mean that we will depart from our principles of non-interference in the affairs of neighbouring sovereign states. **But Botswana, as a thriving majority-ruled state on the borders of South Africa and Namibia, will present an effective and serious challenge to the credibility of South Africa's racial policies and in particular its policy of developing so-called Bantu homelands and its stated goal of eventual independence for these Bantustans. It could force them to abandon the policy or attempt to make it a more immediate reality and even face the prospect of surrendering sovereignty to genuinely independent states. Either reaction would have important political consequences. A prosperous non-racial democracy in Botswana immediately adjacent to South Africa and Namibia will add to the problems South Africa is already facing in reconciling its irrational racial policies with its desire for economic growth. If Botswana is to sustain this role, which you will recognise is not an easy one, its independence must be preserved. This means that we must ensure that we are insulated from any instability which the policies of neighbouring whiteruled countries may provoke. It also means that Botswana needs the support and sympathy of friendly nations. We recognise that our independence ultimately depends on the durability of our political institutions and on our success in achieving economic development. But our independence is also buttressed by our external relations. We have friends in all continents. Our membership of the United Nations is in itself a source of strength. I should like to appeal to all member states in their deliberations on the question of Southern Africa to recall not only Botswana's particular problems, but also our potential contribution to achieving change by peaceful means.**



# FROM INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

current news and comment

## LOW MORALE OVER RUGBY

GLOOM IN S.A. OVER RUGBY read a recent headline in a Johannesburg paper, a sentiment echoed in every newspaper in the country. Rugby, the national sport of white South Africa has turned into its biggest embarrassment. The series of Springbok defeats to club and regional teams at the beginning of the tour was seen to be wholly attributable to the unsettlement of the players by the hostile reception given them by the British public.

Rugby columnists were unanimously agreed that notwithstanding denials by the team's managers, the demonstrators had a deep psychological effect on the players. It was pointed out that in S.A. Rugby had been very successful in the past two years with victories against the French in 1967, the Lions in 1968, and then further victories against the French and the Wallabies in 1969. Yet the team touring Britain which contains many of these players has played atrociously. As a result morale inside South Africa is at a low ebb. The 'polecat of the world' is licking its claws in self pity.

## SHORT OF POLICE

The Commissioner of Police, General Gous has reported that there is an acute shortage of policemen in South Africa and that many more recruits were needed. Addressing a medal parade he said that one of the reasons for the shortage was that **hundreds of policemen were needed to man border posts to prevent an**

**incursion of terrorists.** Someone ought to tell the general that the law of elasticity allows for only a limited amount of stretch — with industrialists clamouring for manpower, government offices pressing for personnel, and all sections of the security demanding more men, the job of keeping the lid on the revolutionary forces is going to need more resources than are available to him. And then?

## STARVATION IN THE TRANSKEI

Urgent representations have been made to the Government to take emergency action in the Flagstaff district of the Transkei to stave off the threatening starvation. Drought has affected some of the adjacent areas and there has been an abnormal call for maize, the basic diet of the people, to an extent where the existing transport facilities are unable to cope. Railway vehicles have broken down, and the roads are inadequate for the heavy lorries to pass between Kokstad and Flagstaff. Thousands of bags of grain are needed if serious starvation is to be prevented. The emergency has highlighted the havoc wreaked by

Government interference in a once rich area of the Transkei where food shortages were unknown. South Africa's white farmers boast of spending weekends helping African farmers in Lesotho. There's not a sign of giving a little attention nearer at hand. Starvation in the Flagstaff area is the result of Government neglect of the farmers' needs and the constant interference in the traditional social structures of the people by Government imposed Bantu Authorities.

## WEAPONS FOR S.A. FROM SOUTH AMERICA

Mr. Eric Horvitch, managing director of Photo Agencies, Johannesburg, after a visit to Brazil and the Argentine concluded a deal with arms manufactures in the two countries to supply South Africa with as many revolvers, pistols, shotguns and rifles "as we require." First shipments have already arrived. Prices are said to be competitive and the quality is described as "excellent."

The two manufacturers, Rossi Taurus, of Brazil and Tala, Argentine, have been in business for many years, supplying weapons for civilians, commercial guards and sportsmen. Most of their exports have previously been going to the United States.

A Johannesburg arms dealer described the guns as of a "very high standard — as good as anything we used to get from Europe and America."

The deal includes the supply of ammunition. Photo Agencies' sales in South Africa are chiefly in the private sector of the market — to arms and ammunition dealers, and to institutions or organisations which have guards. Mr. Horvitch said the amount of money involved was "substantial" but that figures could not be quoted.





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# RACISTS CAN CALL ON 163,000 TROOPS

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The minority regimes of Southern Africa have 50,000 regular troops and 113,000 reservists to maintain their racist hold south of the Zambezi, it is reported. South Africa alone has 39,700 regular servicemen and 85,500 under full mobilisation.

Almost all of them are drawn from the white population. The figures are disclosed in "The Military Balance 1969-70" published by the Institute of Strategic Studies.

It says South Africa has a 22,300-strong citizen force under training at any one time and about 60,000 men in reserve.

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## MISSILES

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The Army has about 200 tanks, mostly Centurion and Sherman and Comets, plus several hundred armoured scout cars and personnel carriers.

The Air Force is 5,000 strong, with a 3,000-strong citizen force. It has 230 combat aircraft, including light jet bombers, mirage fighter bombers with air-to surface missiles, mirage interceptors and Vampires. On order from France are Crotale ground-to-air missiles, 80 helicopters and 60 Macchi jet training aircraft. Another 225 Impala aircraft are being built in South Africa. The citizen air force has eight squadrons, mostly equipped with Harvards. The police are 23,700 strong, with



12,000 reservists. There is also the volunteer militia, the Kommandos numbering 58,000.

Rhodesia has 3,400 regular troops divided among the special air service squadron, two infantry battalions, one with a few Ferret cars and the other with an artillery battery, eight territorial infantry battalions and one field artillery battery.

The BSAP has 6,400 troopers and 28,500 in reserve. The rebel air force has a regular element of 1,200 men with 4,000 in reserve.

The air force has about 80 combat aircraft, one squadron each of Hunter day fighters Canberra light bombers, Provost reconnaissance planes, and a squadron of transport planes and helicopters.

Like the army, the air force is heavily dependent upon reservists and the majority of the ground personnel servicing regular units are reservists or non-white civilians.

In addition to these troops Portugal has 148,000 men under arms - of which 25 infantry regiments and three paratroop regiments are stationed in Africa. The report does not state what proportion of the Portuguese air force's 17,500 men and 100 combat aircraft are in Africa.

South Africa spends K272 million on defence, Rhodesia K15.4 million and Portugal nearly K300 million.

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## CHILD DETECTIVES

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South Africa's children are being indoctrinated in the ways of the Special Branch from a very early age. The monthly children's magazine Patrys which is circulated by the police and schools on behalf of Voortrekker Press, a political publishing group of the Nationalist Party, has taken up the building of a Detectives Club, and the inculcation of police attitudes in the minds of white, especially Afrikaner youth. A recent issue of Patrys contained a photostrip series "the building in the woods" which has as its villain a savage, loin-clothed African who is preoccupied with plunging his spear into whites so as to add to his collection of skulls. The heroes of the strip are three virtuous and brave Afrikaner children.

A story "Gurfad on the Border" contains a character's comments: "I don't know much about animals, but I do know the Bantu. I know him as a superstitious scoundrel."

The Detective Club run by the magazine is flourishing to such an extent that the entry forms warn that "Patrys detectives must understand that they are only the eyes and ears of the Police . . ." and only have the right of arrest "in an emergency."

The magazine gives an address for General-Major Joubert at Headquarters, South African Police, Pretoria. It also gives the following message. "Will all Patrys Detectives in Pretoria North who are aged over 15 years please write their name, address and date of birth on a stout card and hand it in at the Charge Office at Pretoria North Police Station." Membership is however open to children from the age of 12. Gang-badges are advertised in which a man is shown caught in the sights of a hunting rifle. Another carries the motto "Revenge is Sweet". In these pages, headlines scream "Detectives, gangs terrorists - fighters and Communist-haters! Here is great news!" It then offers membership of yet another organisation the CVC which is linked to various police stations.

On another page, the editor's comment on a member's letter: "I am glad you told me that one can shoot more accurately at a tin when one thinks of it as a Communist." Patrys is of course also distributed in Rhodesia.

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# The Roll-Call

by George Shee

Not all men,  
Nor any other book  
Than the register will bear me out,  
That all are present and well.  
But to make sure,  
Let us have a roll call.  
And if none answers to his name,  
Know that it is for your own good  
And mine that he has fallen;  
Fallen never to rise!

Now hang on my lips;  
And listen to the roll call.  
Johannes Nkosi!  
Vuyisile Mini!  
Wilson Khayingo!  
Z. Mkhaba!  
Washington Bongco!  
Babla Saloojee! They are all not there!  
'Tis enough and done for a while.  
Done with the patriots of my motherland.

I know the meaning of the tears  
That I see in your eyes.  
And the meaning of the spilt blood.  
Of the sons and daughters of Africa;  
By men who have shelved humanism!  
Upheld injustice;  
And aligned themselves  
With animalistic tendencies  
In the deepest South of the Seventh Hell!

My hatred and anger is beyond pardon;  
And there shall be peril, havoc and the tempest!  
To avenge and bring to justice  
Those fascists,  
Who have lost a human touch  
And forced man to be against man;  
Brother against brother  
In the South of the Seventh Hell!

The distant hour is surely at hand  
I shall no longer be a stranger in my own land.  
Nor landless, voteless helot of circumstances;  
Oppressed, persecuted and hunted,  
By the disciples of Hitler and fascism.  
In the deepest South of the Seventh Hell!

# SECHABA

OFFICIAL ORGAN  
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS  
SOUTH AFRICA

SPOTLIGHT  
ON  
SOUTH AFRICA  
AN ANC WEEKLY NEWS DIGEST

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# BOOK REVIEW

In our January issue Joe Matthews discussed *Class and Colour in South Africa* by Jack and Ray Simons from the viewpoint of African history. In this, our second review, this all-important book is seen from a different angle. A third review will follow next month.

## THE SIMONS HISTORY - THE CLASS ANGLE

by Michael Harmel

No movement which takes its mission seriously can afford to overlook the study and lessons of its own past. So far as the revolutionary movement of South Africa is concerned, this study has suffered greatly by a lack of authoritative materials. A very important service to our movement has therefore been rendered by two of its members, Professor Jack Simon and his wife whom my generation at least will always think of as the militant and exemplary trade unionist Ray Alexander. Their new book has cost them many years of hard work in research; its 700 pages are packed with facts and incidents. Undoubtedly it is the most comprehensive and conscientious record of the 100 years up to 1950 which has thus far been compiled. If, as I shall explain below, I have a number of reservations about the shape and the conclusions of the book, no one can take away from Jack and Ray the credit they deserve for this enormous labour of love; and their major achievement in assembling such a volume of lasting interest and importance.

To describe it briefly, the book surveys the history of the two wings of the revolutionary movement in South Africa – the workers' trade union and political movement, and the ANC and other liberation organisations of the oppressed people over a century that began with the establishment of the Nazified Nationalist Party and the Suppression of Communism Act. It is a tangled, stormy and fascinating story. The working class and national liberation movements of South Africa have separate but closely-interlinked histories. The national liberation movements (the ANC, the S.A. Indian Congress, the pioneer Coloured movement, the A.P.O) began in the early years of the present century mainly as protest movements against discrimination. They had no clear-cut attitude towards imperialism, put forward reformist slogans and did not aim at the revolutionary conquest of power.

The labour movement began as a trade union movement mainly of white skilled workers whose political expression was the South African Labour Party founded in 1910. The Labour Party split into two over the issue of whether to support or oppose the imperialist war of 1914–1918. The left-wing anti-war section established the International Socialist League (1915–1921) the main body involved in the establishment of the Communist Party.

Penguin African Library

## Class and Colour in South Africa 1850-1950

H.J. and R.E. Simons



Reprint of cover of book.

### A UNITED REVOLUTIONARY FRONT

During the following half century a marked process of polarisation took place in the real political movements of our country concerned with fundamental issues of the future. The national liberation movements, under the hammer blows of fascist and colonialist reaction shed their illusions and their opportunist elements. They joined their forces in a united front (the Congress alliance) which emerged as the only real opposition, aiming at the revolutionary overthrow of the colonialist regime of white domination and the conquest of people's power. They are allied with the Communist Party which – as the ANC has acknowledged\* 'has a proud record of service in the united front of national liberation, which as its programme declares is its "foremost and immediate task"'.

This evolution of both wings of the movement was a long and painful process involving much internal dissent but which real movement can move forward without this dialectical process? In the course of it both were deeply influenced by one another (every conference of the C.P. since the thirties was concluded by the singing of both *The International* and *Nkosi Sikelel' Afrika*) and by the

\*Paper presented on behalf of the ANC by the then general secretary D. Nowke at the Scientific Congress against racism and neo-colonialism, Berlin, 22–25 May, 1968



hard school of life, with the ever-increasing terrorism of the racist authorities 'educating' their members most rigorously.

## THE CLASS ASPECT

I have been asked by **Sechaba** to treat, principally, the class aspects of this history, and undoubtedly the story of the labour movement in our country is rich in lessons that are of far wider than local interest. Of course the split in the working class movement between reformists and revolutionaries is an international phenomenon. What happened in the South African Labour Party during the first great war as paralleled in Russia (the Bolsheviks and Mensheviks) Britain, France, Germany, America and every major capitalist country. Lenin in his writings on the war characterised the treachery of the Labour leaders who deserted their socialist internationalism and backed 'their own' governments as 'social patriotism'. He correctly ascribed this phenomenon to the bribery of an upper stratum of workers out of the super-profits amassed from the colonies – thus making them accomplices in imperialism and its 'junior partners'. But rarely can this brilliant thesis have been borne out so thoroughly and completely as in South Africa.

Just because the imperialist and the colonised are living cheek-by-jowl within a single territory, all the phenomena of colonialism are vastly intensified almost to the point of caricature. In particular the white working class movement has become so dependent on the privileges of sheltered employment and monopoly of opportunities that its earlier class consciousness has atrophied almost to vanishing point. The Labour Party that once had the proud distinction of having men like Andrews and Ivor Jones as its leaders and later a majority in the Transvaal and Johannesburg Councils dwindled away to nothing. The white workers reasoned that if 'white power' was (as its later leaders disgracefully told them) their salvation they would be better off voting the Nats or the U. P.

## REACTIONARY TRADE UNIONS

Similarly the trade union movement of the privileged degenerated to an unprecedented degree. The Trades and Labour Council, with its colour-blind constitution, was dissolved to make way for the 'no-Africans allowed' Trade Union Council, which has sunk to the level of becoming an international apologist for apartheid and for one of the most viciously anti-labour regimes in the world.

On the other hand, the revolutionary wing of the labour movement has developed steadily to a vanguard position in the movement for the democratic transformation of South Africa and the national liberation of the oppressed people. Breaking with the sell-outs who dissolved the Trades and Labour Council the S.A. Congress of Trade Unions at the same time made a great political advance, breaking with the opportunist slogan of 'no politics' and adopting the Freedom Charter as its own.

When it was formed the Communist Party was by no means a consistently Marxist organisation. Many of its members were adherents of ultra-left syndicalist concepts such as those of De Leon and the Socialist Labour Parties of the USA, Britain and other English-speaking countries, or the 'Wobblies' (Industrial Workers of the World). They opposed political action and work in existing trade unions and pinned all their hopes on the single tactic of a general strike and 'one big union'. They were strangers both to

Lenin's flexibility of tactics and to his dynamic concept of the national struggle of oppressed peoples as an integral and major constituent of the world revolutionary process. In the course of struggle, and especially under the influence of the Communist International, the Communist Party cleansed itself of these non-Marxist ideas and elements, as well as of the remnants of white chauvinism which is of course endemic in South Africa. It underwent a 'transition' as the Simonses have it, to 'a genuinely non-racial party – oriented . . . in theory and practice to the struggle for racial equality.'

## INADEQUATE HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE

This process of evolution and development is documented in great detail by Jack and Ray Simons. The facts and sources are all there for the researcher to follow up.

But what they have not done is to sort it out properly. Trivialities are often juxtaposed with events of great significance – for example, far too much weight is attached to the doings of such ultra-left bodies as the Anti-CAD, 'Non-European Unity Movement' and similar typical phenomena of petty-bourgeois 'radicalism' which have been left behind by history. I think the book would have been far better had the authors not yielded to the temptation ever to interpose their own comments, many of which betray an extraordinary lack of historical perspective. When you are dealing with the development of a Marxist organisation, I feel it is essential to do so in Marxist terms – i. e. with understanding of the social changes and conflicts, the realities of time and place the inner dialectic of development.

When the Simonses scold the Communist leaders for supporting the 1922 strike, and even backing the Nationalist Labour election pact against Smuts and the Chamber of Mines, they do not pay enough regard to the fact that the Hertzog nationalists of the twenties were not the same as the 'purified' neo-Nazi nats of today; or that the white workers who went to the gallows singing the Red Flag were a far cry from their degenerate successors in the present-day trade union hierarchy.

I find much of the writers' terminology irritating and misleading. They, for instance, describe the ANC as a 'radical liberal' movement and go on to say that 'radical liberalism emanated from British institutions and values.' But both radicalism and liberalism mean quite different things in Britain, where it was long the ideology of the industrial and commercial bourgeoisie. In fact the trend of ANC thinking throughout its history shows a far greater degree of affinity with that of the liberation movements of their fellow-Africans and the fraternal Asian problems. Again I think it sad that the book stops in 1950; the next twenty years are so rich in developments which dramatically underscore the lessons of the past.

But there it is; I could go on for quite a while detailing points about this big and rich compilation which are not to my liking or which I should have liked to see presented otherwise. Jack and Ray Simons have done a job which badly needed to be done. They have placed on record the activities over a century of a movement which has won the esteem and admiration of the whole world, and which is fighting international imperialism on a battlefield of world-historical importance. They have done this not from the stance of detached observers but of actual supporters of and participants of this movement. It is with this appreciation that I have made these comradely criticisms and that I warmly recommend the book to members and supporters of the South African liberation movement.



## A FINE ACCOUNT

Dear Comrades,

I am sending you under separate cover five copies of our current issue, which includes an open letter to the widows of the three comrades executed in 1964, about whom you published such a fine account in one of your recent issues. We shall be grateful if you will be so kind as to forward a copy to each of these comrades, whom we assume to be still in South Africa but whose addresses we do not know. We enclose a small cheque to cover expenses and a subscription to SECHABA.

I believe SECHABA to be an important addition to revolutionary literature in this country which should help us all greatly to make the position in South Africa clearer to the English people. The present student movement against the present South African rugby tour shows an advance in political awareness on the issue and is very encouraging. We must now spread this political awareness to the masses of working people.

Alex Hart  
For the Secretariat,  
WORKERS BROADSHEET

## CONGRATULATIONS

Dear Comrade,

Here is 27/- for 12 September/12 October SECHABA plus profit for you.

Congratulations on your October issue which seems to us quite the best of recent ones: the cover picture together with Basil Davidson's 'Dennis Brutus' and Alex La Guma's articles make this issue both forward-looking and outward looking.

We would like four dozen copies (October issue) to sell during our anti-Springbok activity next week.

Max Wallis  
Manchester 20.

## OUR FAMILY SUPPORTS

Dear Sir,

Enclosed please find a cheque of £10 towards the good work.

I have often wondered why you don't publish a letter section in your excellent magazine. Also if you could not have a "pen friends" column in which, through correspondence, one could communicate in a more understanding way with our friends in S. A. By the way, can you help me to "adopt" a friend? Let us exchange opinions, views etc., which I feel sure must only help towards a better understanding and means towards eliminating forever the evils of racialism, fascism etc., and promote the benefits of socialism and equality. I am a widower with four young children who are very conscious of the suffering and humiliation which the people of S. A. are enduring but we realise that one day (like the people of N. Vietnam) a crushing and devastating blow will be meted out to the upholders of this Nazi regime. My late wife was a formidable and fearless opponent of apartheid, and in whose name and memory I enclose an additional £10. My children have asked me to send on their gift (25/8) as their help in making this a better world in which we can all live and forget apartheid, napalm, fascism and niggers - and perhaps capitalism.

John Flynn  
Dublin 11.

## STATEMENT

Resolution adopted by the Tricontinental Committee's on the 28th November 1969

## TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

We the Secretariat of the TRICONTINENTAL COMMITTEE'S reaffirm our unconditional support for, and solidarity with those movements in Africa, who represent the true aspirations of the people in their respective countries by executing ARMED STRUGGLE as the only means of achieving NATIONAL LIBERATION from racial oppression and colonialism. These Movements are:

- 1 The AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS of South Africa - A.N.C.
- 2 The ZIMBABWE AFRICAN PEOPLES' UNION - Z. A. P. U.
- 3 The SOUTH WEST AFRICAN PEOPLE'S ORGANISATION - S.W.A.P.O.
- 4 The MOZAMBIQUE' LIBERATION FRONT - F.R.E.L.I.M.O.
- 5 The PEOPLE'S MOVEMENT for the LIBERATION OF ANGOLA - M.P.L.A.
- 6 The AFRICAN PARTY for the INDEPENDENCE OF GUINEA-BISSAU and the CAPE VERDE ISLANDS-P.A.I.G.C.

We hereby rebuff any attempt to smear or slander these organizations whether it comes from the WHITE FASCISTS in Africa, from the BOURGEOISIE, or from groups of ARM CHAIR revolutionaries in Britain VICTORY to the above Liberation Movements!

They march FORWARD! They shall not be DETAINED! They shall be VICTORIOUS!

VENCEREMOS!

Signed: the SECRETARIAT of The Tricontinental Committee's London, N.W. 3.

## FRATERNAL GREETINGS

Dear Comrade,

Thank you for your letter of 3rd December and the copies of the expose on "Black Dwarf's" complicity in the white supremacists attack on the ANC.

On behalf of L.U.U. Sub-Committee Against Racial Discrimination I extend our best wishes, fraternal greetings and express our support and solidarity to ANC/ZAPU.

After a film show on Monday 8th December, we collected money for the Freedom Fighters Fund (ANC/ZAPU). I enclose a cheque for £ 7. 10. 0., and remind you that we hope there will be much more money in the new term.

Best wishes,

FRANK MOORE  
S.C.A.R.D. Secretary  
Leeds University Union