

SECHABA

OFFICIAL ORGAN
OF THE AFRICAN
NATIONAL CONGRESS
SOUTH AFRICA



VOLUME 2

NUMBER 7

JULY 1968

SMITH-VORSTER LIES EXPOSED

Aided by sections of the world press, Smith and Vorster have resorted to fake propaganda about the peoples' struggle. But their own continuing reports expose earlier lies.

SLAVERY IN NEW DISGUISES

Sechaba examines yet another device to increase bondage.

SMITH VORSTER LIES EXPOSED

On 7 March this year seven African freedom-fighters were put to death by Ian Smith's hangman. Newspapers all over the world carried pictures of crowds protesting outside Salisbury jail — the first major political demonstration in the streets of the capital since UDI. And a few days later reports began to filter out of the country of a new guerilla offensive by the combined forces of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union (ZAPU) and the African National Congress of South Africa (ANC).

The Smith regime and its South African ally were taken by surprise. Finding their troops unable to cope with the assaults which came suddenly and in several different areas, they resorted to propaganda to boost their morale. Aided and abetted by influential sections of the western press, Ian Smith unleashed an intensive offensive on the propaganda front with lies.

LIES ...

Since the first sign of the guerilla attacks became known on 17 March, Rhodesian military communiques have tried to belittle the importance of the threat. They announced a never-ending series of minor victories.

They first claimed that the fighting was conducted by intruders who had barely crossed the border from Zambia into the Zambesi Valley on 15 March, and that fighting was restricted to this area alone. This bluff was important because the alternative — that our freedom-fighters had been in Zimbabwe for some time, hidden in the bushes and sheltered and fed by villagers — would have belied every claim of the regime that "not a terrorist" remained on Rhodesian soil.

But, as early as 21 March, official white Rhodesian sources were forced to drop

the claim that fighting was confined to the Zambesi Valley, though they still refused to reveal the actual area of combat. Two days later, they revealed that roadblocks had been set up only 40 miles from Salisbury.

Then the Rhodesian regime's army, which has been given the responsibility for all information released on the fighting, revealed the very next day that its permanent forces, despite support from the South African armed forces already in the country, had had to reinforce the "small local elements of the Territorial Army, Royal Rhodesian Air Force, Volunteer Reserve, and the Police Reserve". Two weeks later, they were claiming that 40 freedom-fighters had been killed but the threat was still so serious that a further section of the part-time Territorial Reserve (First Battalion the Royal Rhodesian Regiment) was called up and sent to the front.

Reporting these facts, the Observer Foreign News Service (London) dated 16 April, stated "...clashes are still continuing".

LIES ...

The Rhodesian and South African press and radio have taken great pains to show that it is African troops in the Rhodesian army that are most active in the struggle to stem the tide of the Southern African revolution.

Radio Zambia on the other hand, reports that many African troops have refused to fight the guerillas and that large numbers of them have had to be detained. While admitting that "some" African troops have been detained, the Rhodesian army refuses to reveal the numbers. Officials of ZAPU claim that very few African troops are now being used by the Smith regime.

Even the lying propaganda issued through the regime's official sources could not hide this fact. The official list of casualties released early in April states that 5 whites and only one African had been killed in action.

Official ANC-ZAPU sources, however, report numerous battles in detail. 'Mayibuye', organ of the African National Congress (Lusaka Office), in its issue dated 15 April, reported:—

"Bitter and fierce struggles are taking place in Zimbabwe at places widely separated from each other and in the North and South of the country.

"On 2 April, after eliminating an army reservist and a trooper the guerillas laid an ambush for the pursuing troops. In the ensuing battle 22 troops lay dead. This engagement took place in the Acturus district. On the same day, in a mutual support attack, guerillas operating in the southern part of the country also saw battle: rather a one-sided battle. At a dam construction site on the Ngwizi river some 20 to 30 miles south of Plumtree near the Botswana border, an army patrol was engaged by the guerillas in a dramatic daylight attack. 35 enemy troops were wiped out, 25 of them Rhodesian and the rest South Africans. The surviving enemy troops fled into the construction site, but they were resolutely pursued by our men and they continued their flight into the bush. In the confusion the White workers on the site fled, leaving all their equipment behind. The African workers did not run away. (The ten dead South African soldiers, incidentally, were taken by truck to Botswana and from there put on a South African bound train in coffins from Bulawayo.) "The fiercest battle of the current guerilla campaign took place near Mazoe on 3 April. Our guerillas wiped out 72 army troops. During the night of 3 April and early in the next day, a long section of the Chirundu-Salisbury road was closed to all public traffic moving in both directions of this Zambia-Rhodesia highway. The reason for closing the road was that their Army was busy gathering the dead from the battle field. The South African soldiers killed in this engagement were first flown to Wankie and from there to the Caprivi Strip on their way to South Africa. Some well-informed sources have given the number of South African troops killed in the recent battles at 42. It is also believed that it was a result of the disastrous routing of the enemy in this battle that fresh and menacing threats and anti-Zambia hysteria is being whipped up in South Africa.

"On 5 April, six Rhodesian army officers were buried without a public announcement being made. On that day Moffat Street in Salisbury was closed for some time to enable the cortège to move to the cemetery quietly. Passersby merely saw coffins on top of which were placed the army service caps of the officers, being taken out of the mortuary and transported to the cemetery. The hush-hush funeral arrangements are being conducted in order to perpetuate the regime's legend that in four weeks of fighting its army has sustained only six dead."

ADMISSIONS . . .

The lie that enemy losses have been light has been revealed by reports in their own propaganda media. The *Sunday Times* of South Africa of 7 April pays grudging tribute to the fighting qualities of our men:—

"Terrorists in the new incursions are proving better-armed, better-equipped, better-trained and tougher than those in previous forays."

Referring to the total mobilization of the Rhodesian forces, the *Johannesburg Rand Daily Mail* of 28 March wrote:—

"It is evident that a very large number of Rhodesian security forces are now involved in the war. (Our emphasis — Editor.) These include white and African troops and special anti-terrorist units."

. . . AND MORE LIES

"Food is scarce, and this has added to the demoralization of the terrorists." So said an official handout of the regime's, dated 6 April.

But the *Johannesburg Sunday Times* of 14 April had a different story to tell. Describing the elaborate preparations of the guerillas for a long and drawn-out struggle, this reactionary newspaper said:— "They had built several expertly covered camps equipped with ovens for cooking game."

The report adds:— "It is believed that the terrorists had been in Rhodesia for some time before they were discovered . . ."

Meanwhile Rhodesia continued to claim that captured "terrorists are so thin you could count their ribs". At the same time it announced that it had siezed packs belonging to our guerillas that were so heavy with ammunition that one could barely lift them up!

BITTER BATTLES

On 24 March the *Times of Zambia* quoted enemy handouts as saying that a running battle had been going on since an estimated 50 guerillas were reported to have crossed into the country the previous week.

But by the middle of April the enemy claimed to have killed 53 guerillas and

captured "large numbers". Who then are the combined Rhodesian and South African regimes' troops fighting now? Further evidence of the "starving, demoralized" guerillas with their impossibly heavy packs, appeared in the *Sunday Times* of 14 April, which stated that they were still fighting "bitter and bloody battles".

"Young Rhodesian soldiers, many of them teenagers, experiencing war for the first time", continued the above report, "have seen six of their comrades die in the bush and nine injured."

THE GUERILLAS AND THE PEOPLE

The most vicious tactic of the enemy has been to release the names of leading figures in the liberation movement whom they claim to have killed in battle. The enemy has made it an aim to discover the names of leading freedom-fighters who are in the battle zone. They then release a list of such names stating that these leaders have been killed. This propaganda tactic is intended to demoralize our freedom fighters by attempting to make various groups feel as if there are no leaders left. But our men are not that easily demoralized, as newspaper reports confirm.

Under the heading "Guerilla War Takes New Turn in Rhodesia", the Commonwealth Correspondent of the *Observer* (London) of 25 April writes:—

"The present battle against the guerillas is now in its sixth week.

"...the Rhodesians have clearly been taken by surprise by the tenacity and fighting skill of the guerillas.

"For the Rhodesians, one of the most disturbing factors must be the increasing readiness of the African population to hide the guerillas and feed them. Without such aid it would have been impossible for them to continue their operations for five weeks . . ."

Further confirmation of the tenacity of our fighters is given in a report datelined London in the South African *Sunday Times* of 5 May:—

"Intelligence reports, reaching the British Ministry of Defence from Central Africa, suggest that the guerilla campaign against Rhodesia is now almost a full-scale war of attrition.

"Qualified sources report that there is mounting evidence of operations being skilfully managed by seasoned tacticians and there is strain on the limited resources of the Rhodesian police and military despite support from South Africa...

"The British are getting their information from varied sources in the field and from posts in Lusaka, Salisbury, Pretoria and elsewhere."

FREEDOM FIGHTERS HERE TO STAY

Even the hostile *Daily Telegraph* (London) whose Salisbury correspondent, Christopher Munnion, makes clear his total commitment to white Rhodesia's point of view, admits in a report dated 7 May that in the weeks of skirmishes, ambushes and pursuit, Rhodesians have come to accept that 'terrorism', as he calls it, is here to stay.

"The first reports were of a force of 200 guerillas crossing the Zambesi by canoe under cover of darkness and dispersing in the jungle type of bush 200 miles north of Salisbury.

"Most of Rhodesia's regular forces, including a special air service squadron, infantry battalions and police units backed by South African units, were involved."

He does not say how 200 guerillas with no support from local African inhabitants have managed to tie down such a huge and powerful military force ever since the middle of March!

Munnion then goes on to contradict his own statement and reveals that "it was then disclosed that the infiltrators had not crossed the river en masse one dark night but had been plying well-established routes across the border and setting up deeply-dug base camps inside Rhodesia.

"The well-hidden bunkers had been stocked with food, supplies and equipment. Massive quantities of modern weapons, Russian and Chinese automatic weapons, bamboo bazookas, Czech hand-grenades, incendiary bombs and ammunition were stockpiled.

"In their initial contacts with the security forces, the terrorists displayed a high degree of skill in laying ambushes, concealing their camps and covering their tracks when pursued. They fought hard and well in confrontations and

their ability to trek many miles through the hazardous bush carrying weapons and 200 lb packs bore testimony to the degree of their training."

DEDICATED FOR FREEDOM

'Die Burger', South Africa's ruling Nationalist Party organ published in Cape Town, confesses in its issue of 25 March that the latest 'invasion' dispels the theory that the 'invaders' follow a tactic of hitting out and retreating to the safety of the other side of the frontier, and there was in fact a determined effort to obtain a grip on an area inside Rhodesia, "in other words, the beginning of a slow conquest according to the best rules of revolutionary warfare".

Despite such admissions by pressmen who by no stretch of imagination could be considered friends of either ZAPU or the ANC, the skeptics, distorters of facts and counterrevolutionary Southern African 'organizations' refuse to be silenced. They continue to speak of our freedom fighters as if they were a small group without any historical background.

Our enemies — whether they be from the ranks of the racists or counter-revolutionary African stooges in Zimbabwe and South Africa — should know that our men have entered the sacred struggle to free Southern Africa, only after full reflection on all that armed struggle entails.

Leaders and members of the African National Congress have more than once demonstrated their will to fight and die for our motherland.

Mandela, facing a possible death sentence, boldly faced his accusers in Court and said:— "During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to the struggle of the African people. I have fought against White Domination and I have fought against Black Domination. I have cherished the ideal of a democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die."

Other heroes of our liberation movement, such as Vuyisile Mini, Mkaba, Khayingo and others, marched the last mile to the gallows singing freedom songs, although they could have saved

their lives by collaborating with the enemy. Our noble leader, Chief Albert John Mvubi Lutuli, died under circumstances still in dispute while under restriction in the small Groutville township in Natal without ever surrendering to the brutal enemy.

The lies of the racists who dropped leaflets over the battle zone calling on the guerillas to surrender because they "are being sacrificed by their leaders who sit comfortably in Lusaka", stand exposed. It was leaders such as Raymond Mhlaba of the Eastern Cape, Flag Boshielo of the Transvaal, and George Mbela of Natal, who led the people into the jails of the fascists during the historic Defiance of Unjust Laws Campaign of 1952.

It is such noble sons of our country as Mandela, Elias Motsoaledi, Ahmad Kathrada, Walter Sisulu, Govan Mbeki, Bram Fischer, and hundreds of other well-known local and national leaders who are serving terms of imprisonment ranging from five years to life.

ROLL OF HONOUR

Our guerillas know that when the roll of honour is called by our liberated people, the names of those who performed heroic deeds in the fight for liberation, will be those of all our heroes, uneducated and educated, peasant and worker, those of low rank and of high rank.

Already our fighting men have proved themselves in the field of battle. Already, they have caused consternation in the enemy camp, reducing him to the necessity of concealing all real information about the fighting in order to keep his camp-followers' spirits up with lies, lies and more lies. And, as lies will, they contradict each other, and are found out. Our men know that all they have to do is to keep fighting as bravely as they have done. Smith's own lies will help to continue his downfall.

And they know that those who have not yet entered the battle are calling to them, like the rearguard of Dingaan's army at the Battle of Blood River:—

"UYADELA WENA OSULAPHO!"

**"HAPPY ARE YOU WHO ARE
IN THE FRONT LINE!"**



Reg September, Secretary-General
of the South African Coloured Peoples Congress
answers questions on

THE ROLE OF THE COLOURED COMMUNITY

Question: Comrade September, the South African government has lately gone to a great deal of trouble to convince the Coloured people* that their best interest lies in co-operating with apartheid. They have set up a Coloured Affairs Council in an effort to channelize their political energy along apartheid lines. How successful would you say these efforts have been?

**The population of South Africa is made up of Africans, Whites, Coloureds (i.e. people of mixed race) and Indians.*



Modern Cape Town — for whites only

What reaction has there been from the Coloured community to the Government's legislation banning racially mixed political parties; and the plan to end the system of Coloured representation through White members of the white Parliament?

Answer: The Coloured community now totals approximately 1,800,000 the greatest majority of whom live in the South Western Cape with Cape Town as its centre. During the past 20 years of Nationalist rule, the position of semi-privilege which we occupied under previous white administration has virtually disappeared. Except for the obvious economic disparity, our position today closely approximates to that of the African people. The deliberate and systematic separation between White and Coloured has been one of the principle objectives of Nationalist rule, and today it is an accomplished fact. Only a few loose ends remain to be tied.

When we — my generation — were young, Cape Town was regarded (and quite rightly so) as the best South African city area for a non-white to live in. We counted ourselves fortunate. We travelled in the same train compartment or bus as the White man; we stood in the same Post Office queue; we went to the same beach; and there existed no legal barrier against our living in some of the more coveted parts of the Western Cape. We organized ourselves in trade unions together with white workers. The Cape was the only Province to send non-whites to the City and Provincial Councils. It was the only Province where the non-white could bargain through the ballot box. The Cape was the only province in which the white Parliamentarian, Provincial or City Councillor, sought our vote. Hence the position of semi-privilege. But the position of "half-brother", in the relation between the white and the coloured man of the Cape, has been rejected by the white man in no uncertain terms during the course of the last twenty years. In its place the Nationalists have imposed on us a system of complete social, cultural, educational, residential and political segregation. We share in the full oppression of apartheid.

During the "more liberal" Smuts era, the political organization of the community was in the hands of the African Peoples Organization (APO) led by Dr. A. Abdurahman. Within the status quo, the APO took up the cudgels on behalf of the community in whatever constitutional way it was possible at the time. However, our country and the Coloured community were no exceptions to the resurgence movement of the underdog during the post-war period. This was the period when the demand for full and equal rights for all took on a mass character. It was during this period that broad masses of the Coloured Community saw their destinies as being more clearly linked with that of the African and Indian.

The Coloured Affairs Council to which you refer, is nothing but an imposed apartheid administrative machinery; and it is recognised as such by all elements in the community. This government has brought untold misery and hardship on the Coloured Community and can never expect to get its willing co-operation.

The reaction of the Coloured Community to the banning of mixed political parties can only be a negative one. The Liberal Party has never enjoyed any measure of mass support among the non-White people. However, even if it had, it is doubtful if there would have been any *public* outcry under the circumstances prevailing in South Africa today. The Progressive Party — which only in the very narrow white South African sense can be regarded as progressive — did poll a significant number of votes separate Coloured elections, that is, from the limited percentage who were on the voters roll. This Party however is not regarded as a party which is likely to lead South Africa to any new horizon. But the plan of the government to do away with even this limited system of representation (i. e. Separate Coloured Representation) altogether, must, if anything, be regarded as a minor defeat for



The Coloured People's Congress is still technically a legal organization. How legal is it in practice, and how is it functioning?

The CPC is a constituent of the Congress Movement. Can you tell us something about the background to this alliance?

the government. It had gone to a great deal of trouble and political jerrymandering to establish the system of Separate Coloured Representation in Parliament, in the hope that they would be able to use it effectively in the process of the political enslavement of our people. Instead, they found that elections for Separate Representation were increasingly becoming a platform — however limited — of protest. Now, even these elected "representatives" are found to be unacceptable to the government — despite their opposition to the CPC's policy. The government has now decided to do away with these "representatives". In their place, the government now chooses to institute a system of so-called representation which it is in a better position to control — i. e. the Coloured Affairs Council. It must be remembered that any militant organization is today barred from functioning openly. The only organizations allowed to function, are those which have the blessing of the government.

In practice, it is not legal. What has happened to all publicly known members of the similarly-placed South African Indian Congress — banning, imprisonment, forcing into exile — has also happened to members of the CPC. Our experience has shown that it was necessary to start afresh with completely new people, whatever the difficulties. While organizationally we have suffered a severe setback at home, I am confident that time will prove our people to be competent to deal effectively with the immense problem of re-organization under these police state conditions.

Externally, we have no separate representation as the CPC. By arrangement in South Africa, when it was still possible for us to meet on a representative basis, it was decided that the ANC would officially bear the responsibility for representing the whole of the Congress Movement, that is, all its constituent organizations including the CPC. This position remains unchanged.

The CPC was established in 1953. Many of us who founded the organization had enjoyed the closest working relationship with the ANC even before the CPC was established. CPC commenced co-operation with the ANC and others, in preparation for the calling of the Congress of the People in 1955. The Freedom Charter which resulted from this historic Congress, was subsequently enshrined in our Constitution. Six months after the Congress of the People, 156 congress members (including CPC members) stood trial for High Treason. Our Charter was on trial. In 1960 during the State of Emergency we again found ourselves in jail together with our comrades in the Congress Movement, after having been a part of the call to strike as a protest against the Sharpeville and Langa police killings. In 1961 again, we joined with Mandela and the ANC in calling for a three-day stoppage of work against the imposition of the Verwoerd Republic; again it was jail and court.

Our co-operation was and is, it can be seen, based on much more than a simple formal alliance. There is a common approach to problems, an almost indistinguishable similarity in the style of work developed during the course of years of closely coordinated struggles and common sacrifice. That is why we have come to be

Reg September

**Secretary-General
of the South African
Coloured Peoples Congress**

A Biographical Note

Reggie September became involved in politics while still a boy at Trafalgar High School in Cape Town. He joined the National Liberation League in 1938, which was the Western Cape constituent (i. e. mainly Coloured) of the Non-European United Front. Moses Kotane, now a member of the African National Congress external mission, was an executive member of the League, and so was Jimmy La Guma, one of the Cape's best-known political figures, and father of novelist Alex La Guma. Dr Y. M. Dadoo was Secretary of the Transvaal Committee of the United Front. The

League's great moment was when it organized a huge demonstration in Cape Town against the 'Stuttaford Servitude Bill', a measure to introduce residential segregation on a Provincial basis: the Bill was withdrawn.

During the war years Reg worked in a shoe factory, and later became a full-time trade union organizer, organizing workers in the distributive and textile trades. Soon after the Nationalists came to power he became Secretary of the Franchise Action Committee, charged with organizing a general strike throughout the Cape on 7 May 1951 against the

known as the Congress Movement. In the course of struggle tremendous strides have been made in building unity not only at the leadership level but also at the grass-roots level.

This is a matter that worried us for some considerable time. Members of our organization saw the correctness of this form of struggle some time ago, and some joined Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation) on an individual basis. However, in South Africa an illegal method of struggle could hardly be discussed by a legally functioning organization. This problem has now been overcome by virtue of the fact that all known members of the organization have now been immobilized in one way or another, and a new publicly unknown core has been built. I have no doubt that when the new organization inside the country sees fit, they will make their attitude known. You may rest assured that they are at one with Comrade Tambo.

(Editor's Note:— Since this interview, Sechaba has received a copy of a leaflet issued by the CPC inside South Africa. A text of part of this leaflet is published elsewhere in this issue.)

Our community is a very heterogeneous one and we must expect the response to such a call to reflect this. The newly-formed groups will have to function illegally in a police state. They will be launching out after a long lapse of time. After all, the people have not heard from the CPC for some years now. During all this time, the only organizations which have functioned in the community are those which are today functioning with full government sanction. Intimidation by the government and its agents is rife, the system of spying and government agents is part of the system of the South African government. The impression which is created is that the government is all-powerful. The community has been completely separated, from white and black. A small middle-class of the community has been bought off by being granted favours or fringe benefits in "their own areas". However, the bulk of the people remain poor. They are faced with a rising cost of living, an inferior education, disgraceful conditions in the segregated or apartheid areas, and no real confidence in the future under this government. Resentment seethes under the surface of calm. The people await an alternative. Inside South Africa, our organization has the task of presenting this alternative, and working in the closest co-operation with the other member organizations of the militant united front of the Congress Alliance. This is being done right now.

This new Act is going to be used in order to regiment the young men of the community as the government sees fit. The South African economy is built on cheap, enforced and directed labour. In the same way that the African labourer has been shanghaied into specified jobs and areas, so the Coloured youth will now receive similar treatment. The fact that the government saw fit to drop threatening leaflets from the air recently, shows the extent to which the people are unwilling to co-operate in their own enslavement. It is a clear indication that they do not trust the government. Such a force, I believe, would prove to be most unreliable from the point of view of the government as a counter-revolutionary force.

(continued over)

What is the attitude of your organization to the new stage — the stage of armed struggle, now reached by the liberation movement? Do you have plans to make a call on the Coloured people to respond to the call to revolution made by the Acting President of the ANC, Comrade Oliver Tambo, in January?

What response would you expect to such a call?



From March this year, as reported in the S. A. press, all Coloured men aged 18 to 24 have had to register for compulsory training in labour camps. What are these youths being trained for? Will those who are trained be used as a counter-revolutionary force against the unfolding South African revolution?

threatened removal of the Coloured people from the Cape Voters' Roll. Later in that year he left South Africa for two years abroad, which he spent mainly in Britain.

In 1953, on his return from Britain, he helped found the Coloured Peoples Congress (then called the South African Coloured Peoples Organization). The aim was to establish a mass movement of the Coloured people, to fight for national liberation in co-operation with all other national organizations. The CPC from its inception co-operated with the ANC. CPC leaders and mem-

bers together with the ANC, SAIC and COD helped to draft the Freedom Charter in 1956. (COD — organization of White democrats, the Congress of Democrats. Editor.)

Together with his friend Alex La Guma (now Chairman of the CPC London Committee) and other CPC members, Reggie September was among the 156 accused in the Treason Trial of 1956. And this was only the beginning of a series of arrests, bannings and imprisonments. 1960: five months in jail during the State of Emergency. 1961: again in jail, for helping to organize the

Mandela 31 May strike. In addition there were the bannings and restrictions used by the regime to victimize South African militants.

In 1963, after being caught by police at a meeting while under a ban, he escaped the country for Bechuanaland (now Botswana), via Swaziland. He was joined by his wife Hetty, a trade union worker among garment workers, who was also under bans and restrictions. Since then, first in Dar es Salaam and then in London, Reg September has been working in the office of the African National Congress.

What precise role do you expect the Coloured people to play, in the struggle that is to come?



The authorities often use the argument, when dealing with the oppressed minorities in South Africa, that they would be worse off under African rule than they are now. How would you answer this?

How do you see the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, and what hopes have you, and your organization, for the future?



Of the non-whites, our people are the most technically skilled, a process which was started when our forefathers (shoe-makers, tailors, builders, harness makers) were imported into the country from the East. Some sections are more fortunate economically, and have educated their children at tremendous sacrifice. I believe that they will prove to be valuable Freedom Fighters. The magnificent record of the Cape Corps in World Wars One and Two should be some guide.

However, it would be idle folly for us to boast of having a mass organization among the Coloured Community. While the roots of the ANC are deep among the Africans, ours have yet to be developed in our community. The community has fought many a valiant political battle in the past and I am certain that broad sections will respond now to the sterner battles which lie ahead.

As you know, we spring partly from the White man, and we share the same language and religion and have the same cultural background as the Afrikaner (Boer), while the Africans and Indians are not connected to the Whites in this way. Broadly speaking, it has been a peculiar relationship which has existed, and the position which we have occupied is, in many respects I suppose, similar to that of marginal groups in other parts of the world. Except, of course, our minority is relatively large.

Geographically, we occupy an important position, for the Western Cape just cannot be relied upon unless the Coloured Community can be contained. It can be likened to a second front. Psychologically, the white people of South Africa have yet to feel the backlash of their rejection of the man whom they for so long had taken for granted. I believe their morale is going to be seriously undermined when they are made to realise that they have lost the Coloured man. This, I believe to be inevitable.

Under the present system of government we have no say. This is realised only too well by our people. The sort of South Africa for which we are struggling does not envisage an African overlord in the same way as we have a White overlord today. We envisage an African majority with all people having equal rights, irrespective of colour. We look forward to the time when our people will be full participants in the struggle for a new South Africa with the Freedom Charter as our goal. When once a people have fought for freedom, and won it, such a people cannot be enslaved. Such a people can only be respected.

The guerilla struggle now unfolding in Southern Africa is being watched with keen anxiety by all responsible elements in the Community. They hope that each battle will mean a shattering defeat for the forces of Smith and Vorster. They recognize this as the beginnings of the real struggle for freedom, and they are proud when they hear that young men from our community are also part of this force. The connection between Angola, Mozambique, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), South West Africa and South Africa is clearly understood. I am certain that they will gain tremendous confidence as a result of the progress which the forces of liberation are making in the field of battle, and this must swell. It is this newly gained confidence which will spread and lead to a rising tide of struggle for change.

Within the Coloured community, drunkenness and crimes of violence — always a significant social problem — are increasing to a frightening degree. We know from experience that a more meaningful expression of the frustrations causing these phenomena is a complete disregard for the oppressive authority and all which their law represents. The fervent manner in which the people demonstrated against and smashed Stuttaford's Servitude Bill in the late 30s, and the manner in which they defended Elizabeth Mafeking's right to remain in Paarl, are but two cases in point. (*Elizabeth Mafeking was a representative of the Food and Canning Workers in Paarl in the Cape Province, deported to Lesotho in the late 50s — Editor.*) One sees some resemblance between the Afro-American and the Coloured communities, in the similarity of many of the problems which they have had to face and their way of reacting to these problems.

The impending challenge to authority will take many forms, and demand many sacrifices, but I believe that the community will match its responsibility and play an extremely important role in the South Africa of the future.

CONGRESS UNDERGROUND MOBILIZES INSIDE SOUTH AFRICA

During the month of April this year, the Congress Movement's underground machinery has been at work, distributing three leaflets to the people of South Africa.

Leaflet Number One: The A. N. C. Speaks

The African National Congress in an open letter to White South Africans, states:—

Once more we, the oppressed black people of South Africa, feel we should make it quite clear to you that in the life of every man and nation comes the moment to decide between good and evil, truth and falsehood. You have failed to take a stand on the issues of political truth and political falsehood. We have told you before that we do not want Urban Bantu Councils because they will bring civil war and bloodshed. Africans will be used by your government to persecute and fight Africans. We have not forgotten the bitter suffering of our people in Sekhukhuniland, Pondoland, Zeerust etc, under Bantu Authorities. This will now be brought to the townships by the Urban Bantu Councils. We know you want to use the Councils to carry out apartheid measures, and not our demands.

1. They will not fight for higher wages and better living conditions because they have no such powers. The rich must remain rich, and the poor must remain poor. The destruction of our trade unions and political organizations, leaves the black workers completely helpless.
2. The Urban Bantu Councils will not solve the problem of overcrowding in our trains, buses, nor will they stop police raids for passes, poll tax, and residential permits.
3. How could they stop our arrest and prosecution for inability to pay rent, when they cannot even get us houses if the location superintendent ejects us from the present houses. We also do not own houses we live in right now. It is the Whites' Sacred Right to own a home in our fatherland. As far as you are concerned we are your CHEAP LABOUR, but no citizens.
4. Do you think that we have forgotten that in Pondoland and other parts of the Transkei, the Home Guards were used by the government to suppress the just struggles of the African people against your evil rule. They kill-

ed many innocent people, burnt and destroyed peoples' houses, and looted their possessions. Your government blamed the legitimate FREEDOM FIGHTERS.

How do you expect us to serve on glorified but powerless bodies of puppets, that cannot be used to fight the real battles of the African people. You will only get the SPINELESS STOOGES and spies to serve your government on these institutions.

As we have told you before, we are convinced that no constitutional procedure will throw the Nationalist fascists' government out of office. Let it be quite clear to you that 'Fascism is disciplining society for a state of war in which martial law is permanent because the Nation is forced to spend any brief period of peace in preparation of war', hence you manufacture fire bombs! Your government survives in peace by the intensity of the terror it imposes.

You shoot and murder us, you torture us inside your prisons, you refuse to free us even when we have completed serving sentences you imposed on us. You ban and confine us, you house-arrest us, you deport us to the wilderness, you remove us from one part of the country to another like cattle. The deep wounds you have inflicted upon us cannot go unrevenged. You vote for non-communication between us and yourselves...

The white electorate must remember that the Nationalist policies have now led to an intensification of the inevitable conflict between black and white races. The truth is that we shall now meet in the battlefield.

We shall fight to the last drop of our blood to realise our aspirations. Our leaders will not die in jail, nor shall our brothers and sisters perish behind bars. The BLOOD OF THE BLACK PEOPLE used for irrigating the enemies' farms and for watering prison gardens will not go unrevenged. Our struggle continues whatever the price may be.

Leaflet Number Two: The S.A.I.C. Speaks

In a message headed: „Freedom Fighters on the March!“ and widely distributed among South Africans of Indian origin, Dr Y.M. Dadoo banned President of the South African Indian Congress (SAIC), states:



Dr Dadoo, banned President of the SAIC, with veteran Mineworkers' and ANC leader J. B. Marks, on one of their many foreign missions to gain support for the liberation struggle.

BROTHERS AND SISTERS!

The struggle against apartheid and for freedom has entered a new decisive phase. Freedom-fighters, combat units, well trained and well armed, are already giving battle to the oppressors with great daring, skill and determination in Rhodesia. Contrary to local press reports, they are dealing severe blows to the fascist forces of Ian Smith and Vorster. Soon they will be fighting the enemy on South African soil. 'WE ARE AT WAR!' says the leaflet of the African National Congress which was widely distributed in South Africa recently. In a rousing call to revolution which appears in the January 1968 issue of *Sechaba*, official organ of the ANC, Oliver Tambo (the Acting President-General) states that "as our forces drive deeper into the south, we have no doubt that they will be joined, not by some, but by the whole African nation; by the oppressed minorities, the Indian and Coloured people; and by an increasing number of White democrats".

WE HAVE SUFFERED ENOUGH

Our community, like the African and Coloured people, has had enough of racial discrimination, apartheid and white supremacy.

The Group Areas Act is taking a heavy toll; daily more and more families are being driven out from their hearth and home and thrown into the garbage heap of Indian group areas; we are being robbed of our means of livelihood; the standard of education of our children is being lowered. Unemployment is rife. Once the Government succeeds in completely driving our people into ghettos, all kinds of restrictions will be applied preventing our people from going out of the areas to seek work, carry out professional duties or to trade; prevent non-Indians from coming into our areas without permission. We shall be cooped up in a lot of hovels; cut off completely from the mainstream of the life, economy and culture of the country.

WE HAVE A PROUD RECORD OF STRUGGLE

From the days of Gandhiji the Indian people have resolutely and bravely offered resistance to racial discrimination and segregation. The campaigns of passive resistance and the Great March of 1913 conducted under the leadership of Gandhiji are unforgettable and historic landmarks in the history of our people. The Passive Resistance Campaign of 1946 against the Ghetto Act inspired our people and pre-

pared them for the struggles ahead. Since the advent of the Nationalist Government in 1948 our people have marched hand-in-hand with the African people under the leadership of the African National Congress, playing our part in Stay-At-Homes, Hartals, the great Defiance Campaign of 1952 and participating in the many demonstrations against apartheid tyranny. Our people were participants in the Congress of the People which formulated the historic FREEDOM CHARTER which guarantees freedom and democracy to all South Africans.

To the call of Umkhonto we Sizwe, our militant youth responded without hesitation and with determination. Babla Saloojee gave his life; and many of our brave activists like Billy Nair, Chibba Maharaj, Indres Naidoo, Shirish Nanabhai, Reggie Vandeyar, George Naicker, Ebrahim Ismail, together with their African, Coloured and white comrades-in-arms, are at this very moment serving long terms of imprisonment. Ahmed Kathrada, together with the outstanding leaders of our country Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Abram Fischer, Govan Mbeki, Denis Goldberg and others, is condemned to life imprisonment.

Nana Sita, the veteran leader of our movement, men like Mohamed Bhana and those brave students who valiantly refused to participate in the Republic celebrations, continue to hold aloft with self-sacrificing courage the banner of resistance.

WHAT NOW?

The terror let loose by the government through its Special Branch has made it impossible for our national organization, the South African Indian Congress and its constituent bodies, to function legally. Every one of the office bearers and prominent committee members has been banned, imprisoned or driven into exile. Every form of intimidation and blackmail is used by the government and the Special Branch to silence criticisms of apartheid. There has arisen among our people a small minority of traitors, stooges and puppets who speak in the voice of their masters — Vorster and Trollip. Some of them have been cajoled, bribed or intimidated by the authorities into serving on the bogus government-appointed South African Indian Council.

Our people should have no illusion about the South African Indian Council. Remember the "Judenraten" (Jewish Councils) set up by the Nazis at the time of Hitler! The "representatives" of the Jewish community on these councils were used merely as instruments to facilitate the sending of hundreds of thousands of the Jewish people into concentration camps and the gas chambers.

However, all the efforts of the Nationalist Government and its stooges will fail. Our people can never submit to the ruination and indignity imposed by white supremacy. Brave spirits will speak out and organize and fight for liberty.

VORSTER CANNOT WIN

As the freedom fighters gather strength the sound of their guns will be heard throughout the land.

All Vorster's arms and all Vorster's men will not be able to stop the onward march of the people to freedom. The struggle may be grim and protracted but it will not cease until apartheid has been overthrown and full and equal rights and opportunities ensured to all the citizens, irrespective of race, colour or creed — until the Freedom Charter is translated into reality.

OUR TASKS

History calls upon us to play our full part in the new phase of the struggle:—

1. Heed the call of the ANC — ally yourselves with the freedom fighters — help them in every possible way! Make their path easy!
2. Reject the government-managed South African Indian Council!
3. Maintain and intensify resistance against the Group Areas Act and against every aspect of apartheid!
4. Youth! Your place is in the forefront of the struggle. Become freedom fighters! Carry this message far and wide among our people. Help mobilize full support for the freedom fighters in town and country!

WE SHALL WIN!

**AMANDLA NGAWETHO! JANA
SHAKTI! MATLA KE A RONA!
POWER TO THE PEOPLE!**

Leaflet Number Three: The CPC Speaks

"Forward to Freedom!" is the heading of a leaflet issued by the underground Coloured Peoples Congress (CPC) in a call to the Coloured community of South Africa. The leaflet, printed in both English and Afrikaans, states:—

From August of last year a unit of freedom fighters of South Africa and Zimbabwe (Rhodesia) engaged the soldiers of Ian Smith's white racist regime. Smith was forced to call on the help of Vorster. In spite of what the newspapers said, and continue to say (and we all know that they are not on our side), our guerilla Freedom Fighters are causing wholesale panic among the racialists of Rhodesia and South Africa. To cope with government casualties, two hospitals had to be cleared. Today the fighting still goes on. Those of our men who died, died bravely. **WE SALUTE THEM.** They are your sons and brothers, members of Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation). Members of the same organization which carried out its first acts of sabotage in South Africa on 16 December 1961. **OUR COMMUNITY MUST WELCOME THESE MEN. THEY ARE OUR OWN. THEY ARE FIGHTING FOR FREEDOM.**

Let Tom Swartz lick the white man's boots, but let him and his council do it alone.

WE WILL NOT FIGHT FOR APARTHEID!

It is true as many a mother will tell you, that we have lost many brave young men in the two world wars. Our people have a very proud record in the field of battle.

BUT WHAT DID OUR MEN COME BACK TO? Our experience is, that instead of our people being allowed to take part in building a new and better South Africa for all, our position became worse and worse. There was a time when we were treated a little better than the enslaved African. **TODAY THIS IS HARDLY SO.** *We cannot elect our own representatives to Parliament. Instead we have four white, representatives and the Council for Coloured Affairs.*

The insults and humiliation of separate bus seats, post office queues, train carriages, station entrances, separate parks and beaches, **CAN NEVER BE ACCEPTED.** The inferior education being given to our children today, the inferior jobs, the lower wages, the stealing of our homes under the protection of the Group Areas Act **CAN NEVER BE ACCEPTED.** The crippling of our Trade Unions, and our militant political organizations; the banning, banishment, imprisonment and hanging of people's leaders **MUST BE CHALLENGED.**

Now we are the victims of the Coloured Cadets regulations. This is the beginning of the Pass Laws under which the Africans suffer. Soon our men will have to carry documents which can be demanded by the police, and can be imprisoned if they are not registered.

We demand unconditional democratic rights and our right to sit in Parliament together with men like Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Bram Fischer or Dr Dadoo. **THIS WE WILL FIGHT FOR! WE WILL CONTINUE TO ORGANIZE!**

For many years we have been building massive opposition to the policies of apartheid. Unity among the people was being built **LEGALLY** under the leadership of the African National Congress, the S. A. Congress of Trade Unions, the S. A. Indian Congress, the Congress of Democrats, the Communist Party and the S. A. Coloured People's Congress. The Nationalist Government and the rest of the white supremacists, anxious to divide our people, determined to continue to make huge profits out of us all, became frightened, banned certain organizations and individuals, and **FORCED THE MOVEMENT UNDERGROUND.**

Today, known and respected leaders of our community can no longer participate in our organization. But a new force is organizing all over in small groups of two, three or four, just as the people of Europe under Nazi occupation had to organize.

THE GOVERNMENT ARE THE TERRORISTS!

The government showed that it had no intention of talking, it is only prepared to use the baton, the gun, the hangman, and the jail. Today, 10,000 of our best sons and daughters rot in South Africa's jails, like Robben Island. Hundreds have been banished, forced into exile, house-arrested, banned and restricted, while Tom Swartz is paid to sing the Apartheid praises.

But we will not be turned from the road to the liberation of all South Africa's oppressed. That is why we now call for greater determination, and the use of force to meet force and win our rights.

WE WILL FIGHT!

TOGETHER WITH THE FREEDOM FIGHTERS LET US PREPARE TO FIGHT FOR A FREE SOUTH AFRICA. No doubt there may be many hard battles ahead.

The Freedom Charter, which is our policy for a democratic Peoples Republic, states:— **"SOUTH AFRICA BELONGS TO ALL WHO LIVE IN IT."**

THIS IS WHAT WE CALL UPON OUR PEOPLE TO FIGHT FOR! THIS IS WHAT WE SHALL WIN IN SOUTH AFRICA!

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE FOR LIBERATION! FORWARD TO FREEDOM!

Editor's Note:— The ANC's leaflet quoted above is the third since fighting first began in August last year. The first, headed: "The ANC Lives!", was reprinted in our issues Volume One Numbers 9 and 10. The second, headed: "We Are At War!", was published in full in our issue Volume Two Number 2.



IN MEMORIAM: ALBERT LUTULI

Commemorating the tragic death of Chief Lutuli in July 1967. Submitted by Dr N. G. Maroudas

Chief, when your Chief died, He died despairing:

"My God, my God, why hast Thou forsaken me?"

The crowd (was it the same crowd?) Who once had strewn his path with flowers,

Now crowned it with thorns.

The miracles stopped.

The wine turned back to water.

The healthy man began to die.

The wisecracks backfired:

He found himself rendered up to Caesar

As a thing that was Caesar's,

A troublemaker to be neutralized,

Along with two thieves,

Hung high on a hill like an advertisement

For the tidy Roman state.

Pax Romana.

Chief, in your later years

Word went round among the young progressives:

"Lutuli has had it. Rounded up.

Put out to grass like a tired old horse.

For half a century he's been knocking

He says, at this closed door.

Politely. Patiently.

But now that he's started this burning of pass-books, and so on,

They've simply called the police, And led him away. Quietly. Politely.

With just a little beating.

To teach him his place.

If that's where patience gets you,

Why bother to knock?

Next time we'll just shoot

The lock."

Chief, when that train knocked you down

(Was it really an accident? —

"He had been going blind for some time" —

Were you really so blind that you could not see it coming?

Or so deaf that you could not hear it coming?

Or so senile that you didn't have enough sense

To stay out of its way?

Never mind:

However blind or deaf you might or might not have been then

You are dead now),

When your body was finally broken by that huge machine,

That juggernaut of a police state, howling along its oneway track, And your life dribbled into the ground, Could you, in your last agony, still bear to think

How insolently love had been met with hate:

The hot grinning hate of masterful men Intent on subduing to their lust and greed

The tender human spirit Behind the barbed wire of Law and Order.

Chief! You were a fighter!

Your weapons were love And suffering.

It was not cowardice or foolish mildness,

But love that gentled your great frame. You wanted to win

The fight against hate itself —

The only victory where nobody loses.

Your smile like the serene grey clouds that sail after a summer storm,

The cool sunshine of your eyes,

Were a promise of peace

And freedom

Rest for the weary

Food for the hungry

Help for the sick

And dancing for the light of heart...

Sorry, dead chief, not even your Chief

Has won that victory yet:

Your honoured Nobel Peace Prize

Was not the real prize of peace.

To win that real prize it may be

One has to use real weapons

Against real bullets,

And someone has to die.

Someone has to die.

Has to die.

Has to.

Has.

Let us come together to speak of Freedom.

Let us remember

This one dead man,

This chief;

Because if ever Africa

Comes out of the swamp and the screaming desert,

Where wild animals tear each other to pieces,

It will be through those few brave people

Who looked the murderers in the face

With steady eyes;

Who went to prison

For the sake of Freedom;

Who died

For the sake of other lives;

Who, in the wilderness of pain,

And (what is even harder)

On the swaying heights of power,

Held on, held on, held on

To the one sustaining truth:

That Man must bind mercy into history.

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

A total of 69,261 cases of tuberculosis were reported in South Africa last year, according to figures released last month by the South African National Tuberculosis Association. In spite of modern drugs and surgical techniques, this is the highest number of TB notifications yet recorded in the Republic in any one year.

It represents an increase of 2,500 cases (3.74%) over the 1966 total of 66,761. Broken down into race groups the figures are:— White 1,244. Coloured 8,116. Asiatic 1,150. African 58,751.

The biggest increase was in the African group — 5.56%.

Increase in Heart Diseases

According to figures released by the Bureau of Statistics in Pretoria, heart disease is the greatest killer of white people in South Africa. The major causes of death among Coloured people were gastritis, guodenitis, enteritis and colitis.

The infancy death rate among White babies under one year of age has shown a marked decline; the infancy death rate among Coloureds has increased sharply. (Coloureds — People of mixed race.)

Super Censors

Books, mainly paperbacks, are being banned by the South African Publications Control Board at the rate of nearly two a day. Since the Board was instituted in November 1963, after the Publications and Entertainments Act became law, more than 11,000 books have been banned.

According to Mr Hans Meyer, executive of a Pretoria publishing firm which lists banned publications, the number of banned articles (books, records and calendars) is reaching a higher rate than ever before.

Mr Meyer's firm publishes Jacobsen's List of banned publications, a loose-leaf book which is distributed to the Security Police, the Department of Customs and Excise, all Post Offices in South Africa, all Government Departments, and to private subscribers. Mr Meyer said the censorship law had come to stay, and it had to be carried out as smoothly as possible. With this end in view, he has close liaison with the Department of Customs and Excise in Cape Town, where most of the books are held and passed on for censorship. Customs officials have been trained to act as "super censors". They decide which books are to be placed under embargo and which to pass on to the Publications Control Board.

"In nine cases out of ten, the Board bans books stopped by the Customs", Mr Meyer said. "The Customs knows what is likely to be declared undesirable and objectionable."

An extensive system of banned titles is kept by the Customs depot in Cape Town. This index, worked by computer, is the "nerve centre" of the entire censorship system.

Mr Meyer said he had received from the Deputy-Secretary of Customs, advance lists of books held.

Whites Play Blacks' Parts

A play by the South African writer Phillip de Bruyn, set in a refugee transit camp near the South Africa and Botswana border, includes two African characters. Under South African law, two White actors have to take the parts of the Africans.

The play, "Give Us Besides Our Daily Bread", was staged in Durban. A note in the programme read:—

"In this play, two of the characters are Africans. These roles, of course, have to be played by Whites. No at-

tempt at fully realistic make-up has been made, the race of the characters being indicated simply by a slight darkening of the skin."

The Flexible Dollar

American businessmen in South Africa have instituted their own unofficial boycott of multi-racial parties given by United States diplomats in South Africa. This is revealed in a long, illustrated feature on South Africa in 'U.S. News and World Report'. South African officials described the article as "quite the most positive story" on South Africa which had appeared in the American Press for years. The theme of the article is that despite official differences over race problems, the United States and South Africa have more to draw them together than to drive them apart.

U.S. News and World Report reporter Albert J. Meyers writing from Johannesburg stated that "US businessmen here tend to restrict themselves from having much to do with the official American Establishment in South Africa".

He said the businessmen had launched their boycott of American multi-racial diplomatic functions because "most Americans hesitate to offend the Government of a country in which they are doing business".

"Many United States businessmen," he wrote, "pretty clearly approve of the way South Africa is attempting to solve its complicated racial problems."

He then cited a survey of American and Canadian businessmen, which showed that 40% would vote for the ruling Nationalist Party in South Africa if they were eligible to vote. Only 9% described apartheid as "altogether incorrect".

Call For Comforts

White Rhodesians have made a fresh appeal to white South Africans through a Cape Town businessman who used to live in Salisbury. He is Mr Godfrey Stevens a former member of the Salisbury East branch of Lions International. Mr Stevens is reported as saying: "Rhodesians are grateful for what is being done in the fight against the terrorists, in difficult bush conditions, on the northern border of Rhodesia, by both young Rhodesians and young South African policemen."

These men are living in "war conditions", he stated, where it is possible in the bush for a man on his own to

be lost for hours while on hunts for terrorists.

"Lions International with headquarters at the Kamfinisa Park Hotel, East Salisbury, would be grateful if those who want to make life a little easier for these boys in the bush, would join in a gifts-and-comforts scheme similar to the one that helped us in the Second World War."

Air Raid Sirens

Plans are being prepared to give South Africa's major residential and industrial areas maximum warning of any aerial attack, the Director of Civil Defence, Combat General Pierre Retief said recently. The scheme includes a national network of 70-foot high air raid sirens, the first of which has been erected in Pretoria's eastern suburbs. Pretoria will eventually have 15 to 20 such sirens.

The sirens are being operationally tested by the CSIR (Council for Scientific and Industrial Research), which is also carrying out research into their most effective distribution. The Rand, including Johannesburg, will obviously get blanket protection as it is the heart of the country's industrial structure. About 30 sirens will eventually be erected in this Rand complex.

Ports too will get maximum protection. "Obviously sirens are not the end of the protection which is eventually to be provided", said General Retief. "Other measures will be announced as soon as we are ready, as well as details of responsibility which rests with civilian population."

Children Study War

83 pupils of the Hendrik Verwoerd High School were taught about guerilla warfare at a 'Voortrekker camp' at Wolhuterskop, 40 miles from Pretoria. Army personnel showed the pupils how guerillas operated and what could be expected when they attacked. The leader of the camp, Mr Helgard Coertze, said that it was the first time in South Africa that a camp of this kind had been held. The idea was to make children conscious of guerilla warfare.

The 'Voortrekkers' (name of the white youth organization) for two days received lectures on guerilla warfare and took part in mock attacks. They were told about disguise techniques and took part in simulated warfare with stand-in 'terrorists'.

REPORT AND COMMENT

COMMENTS ON SOME RECENT ISSUES IN THE WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS

THE PHONEY OLYMPICS

Who does white South Africa think it is fooling? Nobody but itself we feel sometimes. And one of those times was at the announcement of the 1970 Bloemfontein 'Mini-Olympics' as white South Africans, with supreme impertinence, are already calling these racist Games. Rejected by the world as unfit for participation in the 1968 Mexico Olympic Games, South Africa now suggests that it might be a bright idea to invite all Olympic Gold Medallists to take part in South African Games.

Selling Shell

A Shell Company representative has called on Prime Minister Vorster to offer a donation of R 150,000 (£ 87,500) towards the cost of these Games. Be-

World-class S. A. runners Benoni Malaka and Humphrey Khosi — but no sport equality in their own country.



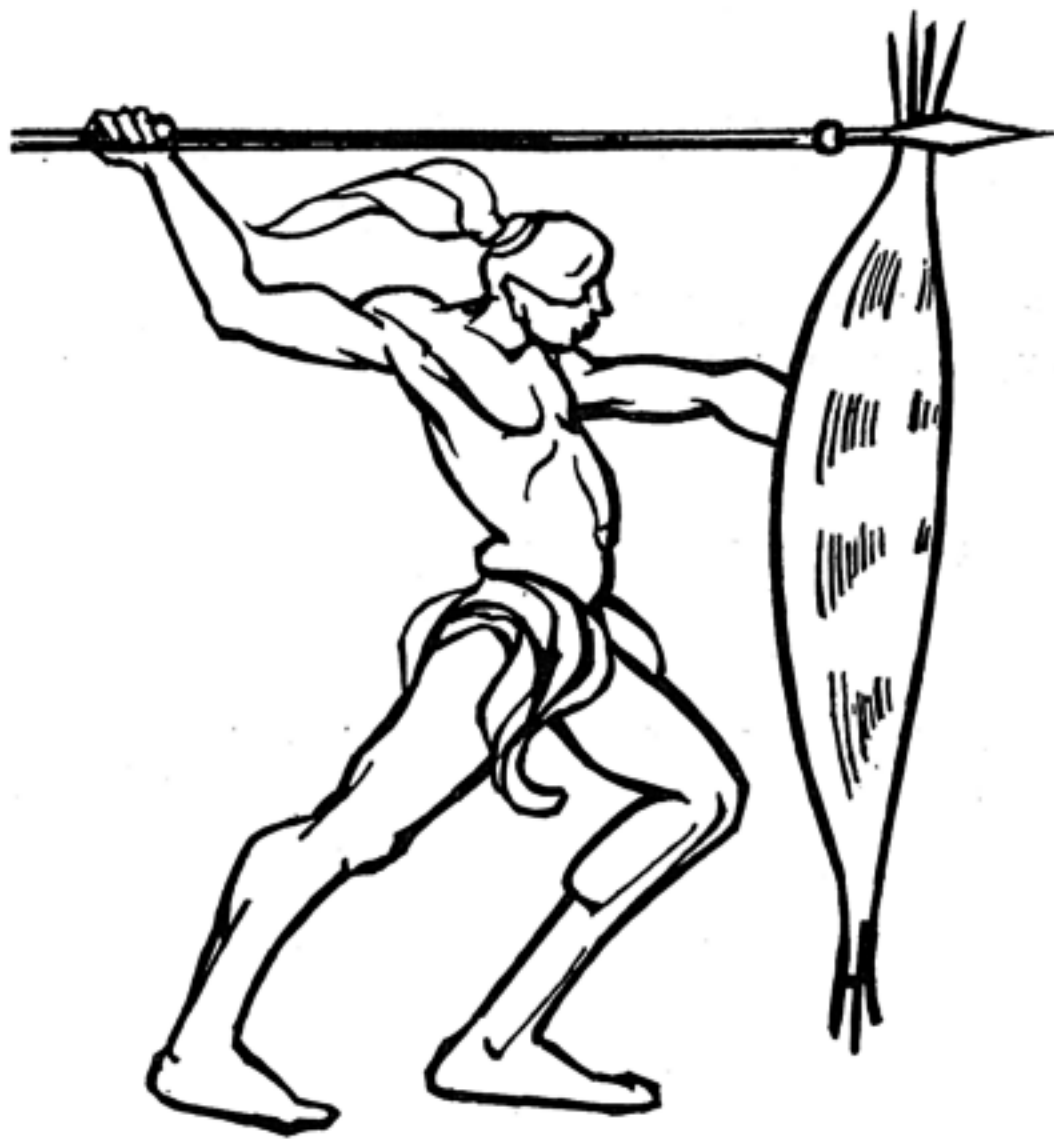
fore international companies pander to racialism in such ways, mightn't they be wise to have second thoughts about the many other countries of the world, and especially of Africa, which will resent such crude and callous disregard for their convictions and such conciliation towards their brothers' oppressors?

South African sources report that this idiot international image-washing scheme has been greeted with interest in "certain quarters" in Australia and New Zealand. Confirmation of this has yet to be received. But what strikes us as incredible is that the South African overlords should imagine that those who refused to participate in Games with South Africa in Mexico, would accept invitations to a substitute in apartheid-land itself. No steps have been taken to eliminate the racialism which permeates South African 'sport' from top to bottom. Nothing has changed since the Olympic Committee's decision. All events during the so-called Mini-Olympics will be strictly segregated.

We suggest that White South Africa and its supporters — including the Shell Company — think again.

No Indians in O. F. S.

We wonder what the South African Government would do if a South African of Indian origin were nominated to take part in such Games. According to the Immigration Regulations Act, Indians could only enter the Orange Free State (whose capital is Bloemfontein where the proposed Games are to be held) in transit — and cannot stay there for any period of time. Furthermore, where will such Indians be housed, as the total Indian population of the Province is one family of five — and there are no separate apartheid hotels either in Bloemfontein or in the whole of the Orange Free State for that matter.



BACKGROUND TO AFRICAN LITERATURE

by Mazisi Kunene

Chief Representative in Europe: African National Congress

PART ONE

A description of African literature faces one with the problem of definition "What is African literature?" Is it literature of a region sentimentally defined on a continental basis? Or is there in fact an African reality which has continental dimension? These problems have been discussed in various African literary conferences without any satisfactory conclusion. From these discussions one suspects that the new intellectual elite is concerned with continental African literature as a hypothesis rather than as a reality. It is clear also that such discussions ignore the historical bases which alone can explain the phenomena of Africanism.

Suffice it to say here that African literature is the literature which depicts an African reality in all its dimensions. These dimensions not only include conflicts with other ex-colonial powers, but also conflicts within the African continent. I use conflict here in the cultural sense which resolves itself in assimilation and synthesis. Too often the discussions on African literature ignore the nature of traditional literature which in itself is the key to the very definition of African literature as a continental phenomenon. The problems of social organization are equally overlooked. Our contention here is that literature in any society reflects its social realities. That Europe and Japan have evolved a conversational type of drama, while the rest of Asia and Africa have evolved a symbolic drama, is no accident.

It is for that reason that we have chosen here to analyse, however inadequately, the social and economic basis of African literature, without much concern for the historical eras or regional deviations which are part of that literature.

basic african form

When one talks of African literature one is not implying that there are no local forms. What one is saying is that local forms constitute part of a basic form that represents a common continental experience. When an Ethiopian recites the heroic deeds of his ancestor in heroic verse, he is doing the same thing as would a Zulu or a Sotho or an Ashanti.

When an ancient Egyptian recites the songs of the dead he is doing exactly (and almost in the same form) what an Akan is doing. Note for instance the similarity in form between the two examples:

Ezana on the Sacking of More (circa A.D. 325):

Men and women were drowned and I
arrived at Kasu slaying (some of)
them and taking (others) prisoner.
At the junction of the rivers Seda and
Takkaze. And on the day of my arrival
(I) dispatched at the field the troop of
Mahaza and the Damaw(a) and Falah(a) and Sera.

Xesibe:

The lion rose suddenly from the stream of Siholweni.
Ngoza beheld it, he the son of Mkubukeli
Yes he saw it tearing men apart
Everywhere piles of skeletons blocked the passages.

Cetshwayo's Army Mobilizing:

Leaning on a gigantic spear,
Disappearing into the mountains of Mphendla and Ma-
qhwakazi,
Emerging at the house of Nohadu son of Msweli.
And leading forth the assembly of men,
One column meandered with black shields, another with
red shields.
They emerged at the house of Gawozi the son of Silwane.

It is not as if one is looking for similarities to prove a political necessity; the similarities are there as a continuing reality which must be studied as such. What is therefore necessary is the examination of the reasons for these similarities.

Tied up with this question is the examination of the reason why similarities should be necessarily in Africa, whose size

is many times that of Europe and therefore comprising wider boundaries and greater dispersal of population. The African continent is one of the most accessible continents from within. It forms a continuous shelf broken here and there by deserts and jungles (5%). Throughout its history there have been continuous movements of populations from one area to another. Because of its size it required minimal population pressures to bring about dispersal. (For contrary to common belief Africa has had comparatively fewer wars than say, Europe over an area of equal size. Its national identities have been less exclusive.)

the hero and the community

The result of all this is a predominant common factor in almost all parts of Africa, a collective form of social organization, itself generating a deep and highly sophisticated communal ethic. It is not surprising therefore that most African literature has been concerned with the relationship between the individual and society. The individual's role is often so merged with the requirements of collective action that he ceases to project his own excellences as a character but as part of the social and political entity of his community. If for instance he is judged as morally debased it is enough for him to distinguish himself in battle to retrieve his name and earn undying respect and admiration from the community.

Indeed in Africa, unlike in Europe, it is not justice that is considered the highest virtue but fearlessness and courage. These comments are necessary in order to put into focus much of the meanings and methods of African literature. It also follows that the highest form of literary expression is that which enunciates the heroic exploits of individuals. This is achieved in various ways: sometimes it is expressed through the hero epic, sometimes through the story, in another form through the satire attacking anti-social actions of individuals. Throughout traditional African literature there is a predominant social ethic. Almost all this literature seeks to convey a social or a political message.

It should not be assumed however that this literature is obsessed with moral precepts. Its depth of meaning is precisely in its capacity to promulgate its ethic without being didactic. Moreover African philosophical thought conceived "wrong" as an anti-social act punishable by man rather than by the intervention of a supernatural force. The result is a more pragmatic concept of evil or wrong arising directly from the everyday actions of man. Man himself is defined as neutral quality which is moulded by society. He is not in any way predestined or conditioned in his behaviour by the crimes of those in whose actions he had no part. Man's very relationship with his god or his ancestors is on a reciprocal basis.

All this means that there is in African society a marked absence of any dogma. In literary terms this means that history and practical everyday actions determine the content of literature. Hence, as others have observed, there is no room for sentimentality in this literature. In African literature realism is the primary method of conceptualizing life situations.

But before one goes into what form this realism takes, one must enumerate the forms of literature that are used.

(to be continued)

ADDRESSES

Sechaba may be obtained from the following bookshops, addresses and ANC Offices.

TANZANIA	African National Congress of South Africa P.O. Box 2239, Dar es Salaam.	African Bookshop P.O. Box 20837 Dar es Salaam.
ZAMBIA	African National Congress of South Africa P.O. Box 1791, Lusaka.	
ALGERIA	African National Congress of South Africa 5 rue Ben M'hidi Larbi, Algiers.	
U.A.R.	African National Congress of South Africa 5 Ahmad Hishmat Street, Zamalek, Cairo.	
INDIA	African National Congress of South Africa A 66 South Extension Part 1, New Delhi 3.	
ENGLAND	African National Congress 49 Rathbone Street London W. 1.	Collet's Bookshop 66 Charing Cross Rd London W.C. 2.
IRELAND	Anti-Apartheid Movement 173 Barton Road East Dundrum, Dublin 14.	
HOLLAND	Boekhandel Pegasus Leidsestraat 25 Amsterdam.	Boekhandel Pegasus Hoogstraat 143 Rotterdam.
FRANCE	Michele Vial, 19 Villa de L'epid'or. 78 Saint-Cyr-L'ecole, Paris.	
NORWAY	Mr Lars Allden Holtegt 24, Oslo 3.	
JAPAN	Far East Booksellers Kanda P.O. 72, Tokyo.	Maruzen Co Ltd P.O. Box 605 Tokyo Central, Tokyo.
AUSTRALIA	Third World Bookshop 35 Goulburn Street Sydney 2000.	Peoples Bookshop 205 Brunswick St Valley Brisbane 4006.
	Mrs Elizabeth D. Aiken "Burleigh", 566 Toorak Road Toorak, Victoria, Australia.	
GUYANA	Michael Forde Book Shop 41 Robb Street, Georgetown.	
MEXICO	Liberia Fomenta Cultura P. Sanchez 325 Guadalajara, Jal.	
CANADA	Book World 72 Gerrards St West Toronto.	The Peoples Co-Op Bookstore 341 West Pender Street Vancouver.
U.S.A.	Jefferson Bookshop 100 East 16 Street New York N.Y. 10003.	Modern Book Store Uptown Branch 3230 N. Broadway Chicago, Ill. 60657.

SLAVERY IN NEW DISGUISES

The newly created "Bantu Councils" have been lauded by Vorster's propaganda as a step toward more self-rule for urban Africans. Along with the whitewashing has gone the trappings of "good intentions". But a closer study of the facts discloses that the Councils are yet another device to push Africans even deeper into bondage.

The new State President of South Africa, Mr J. Fouché, spent his first day in office on 10 April in Cape Town, meeting 'tribal leaders', members of the Council for Coloured Affairs, and 'representatives' of the Indian community.

Of course, in accordance with the Nationalist Government's policy, he met each group separately. All three meetings were private and the Press were excluded. Mr Fouché was in formal dress, with his presidential sash and all. Each group was introduced to the President by the white Minister responsible for the racial department concerned.

Yours Faithfully

Mr Fouché — honest Jim, as the white Press is beginning to paint him — the man who once said White South Africa would fight till the blood was up to the horses' bits to preserve its heritage, this time struck a new note. After a long speech stressing the Government's good intentions towards the Non-Whites, he concluded by saying:

"I give you my hand — and I want you to give your hand to me."

It is only a few years ago that Government servants were forbidden to shake hands with Africans. But on 10 April this year Mr Fouché not only shook hands with them, but posed for photographs with them.

And on the very same day the Press reported that employees of the Department of Justice had been instructed to stop addressing Africans as Jim, Sarah or Mna. In future, Africans must be addressed in correspondence as Mr, Mrs, Miss, Sir or Madam, and letters must be ended with the words: "Yours Faithfully".

The circular sent out by the Secretary for Justice said: "It has been decided to bring instructions relating to the mode of addressing Bantu persons in correspondence into line with those applicable to other race groups."

The Empty Handshake

Perhaps it is no surprise to learn that the Chairman of the Council for Coloured Affairs, Mr Tom Swartz, came away after meeting Mr Fouché feeling elated. He told the Press:— "We came away feeling that this had been a new and most encouraging experience, and that it had indicated a new era in improved relations between the whites and other racial groups in South Africa."

The Press had carried no reports of the reactions of the African and Indian 'representatives' who met Mr Fouché. Perhaps not all of them were stooges — one of the chiefs was paramount Chief Cyprian Bekhuzulu,

who has steadfastly opposed the introduction of a Zulustan on the Transkei model. Perhaps they were not so gullible as Mr Swartz, and needed more than a pretty speech and a handshake to convince them that the Nationalist leopard has changed his spots.

The Nationalist Government is fond of making empty gestures which have the aim of placating public opinion at home and abroad without in any way altering the fundamental relations between black and white. When African representation in Parliament was abolished in 1959, the Nationalists offered in its place the Bantustans and urban Bantu Councils through which the Africans could "rule themselves in their own areas".

People See Through It All

So far only one so-called Bantustan has been created — the Transkei — and we all know what a farce that has been. What sort of Prime Minister is Matanzima who can't even have a cup of tea in a hotel in his own capital, because it is reserved for Europeans Only? What sort of sovereignty does he exercise when his only possible harbour, Port St Johns, is declared White, and his dominion ceases at the high water mark on all the beaches.

As for the urban Bantu Councils, which are to replace the Advisory Boards in the cities and to be given certain administrative powers and the right to raise money by taxation — what do they really amount to? So far only 11 Urban Bantu Councils have been established — in Benoni, Boksburg, Johannesburg, Roodepoort, Grahamstown, Uitenhage, Bloemfontein, Kroonstad, Parys, Welkom and Durban. What are these Councils all about?

Well, let us look at the one in Johannesburg's Soweto, which was inaugurated on 11 April — about the same time that President Fouché was stretching out his hand to the Non-Whites. The Council has 58 members, 17 selected and 41 elected, representing 10 wards. Members were elected on an ethnic basis. The Zulus have 21 councillors, Southern Sotho 8, Tswana 7, North Sotho 6, Xhosa 6, Tsonga 4, Venda 3 and Swazi 3.

The elections were held on 30 March. There were 127 nominations. Who were the candidates? Their names were not even published in the Press, which said no more than that 29 of those elected were new men, and only 9 were former advisory board men. Neither of the Johannesburg newspapers (*Rand Daily Mail* and *Star*) gave any details of the voting figures. One gets the impression that most of the people of Soweto were not interested in the election. The Chairman of the new council is Mr Francis Ncube, described as a businessman, and the Vice-Chairman is Mr Job Rathebe.

Temporary Sojourners

The inaugural meeting of the Council was opened by none other than Mr Blaar Coetzee, Deputy Minister of Bantu Administration. There were 500 spectators, and music for the occasion was provided by a Soweto school choir and the municipal band. The Mayor of Johannesburg, Mr Israel Schlapobersky, robed the Council Chairman.

But lest the 'councillors' develop too fancy a notion about themselves, Blaar Coetzee stressed in his speech that the Africans were only "temporary sojourners" in Johannesburg and other urban areas, and the establishment of the Soweto Urban Council did not in the least mean that Soweto would ever become a Bantu homeland.

Warned Not To Do Anything

Africans should not, and could not, expect any political rights in the 'White homelands', Mr Blaar Coetzee continued.

"This Urban Council is not, I repeat not, a fully-fledged municipality. You are here to advise the municipality and to fulfil tasks given you by the municipality".

The next line was really more than a joke, but for some reason members laughed when Blaar Coetzee added: "Any attempt to go outside that scope will lead to unnecessary trouble."

The Council must keep out of politics. "My Department will not tolerate any irresponsibility."

Members could be excused for wondering what their function really was. They were soon to find out.

Less Representation Than Before

When they tried to make representations on behalf of Soweto residents to the Johannesburg City Council, as had been done under the old Advisory Board, they were told that under the new system such representations could no longer be made. The Johannesburg City Council's Non-European Affairs Department preferred to deal directly with the people concerned, they were told.

At an informal meeting with City Council officials, Mr P. Q. Vundla, an old Advisory Board member and a member of the new Council, protested: "This is a serious matter. If we cannot represent the people who elected us, then we have no valid reason to be here. We should resign," he said amid cries of 'Yes' from other members.

At another meeting Mr Vundla said he had no homeland except the one he stayed in — Soweto. The Transkei and other so-called homelands meant nothing to him, and he had no contact with them.

Another councillor, Mr Maponya, had said in his election campaign: "The Government is wrong in thinking that urban Africans will some day go and live in the homelands. The time has now come for the Government to realise that urban Africans will remain part of the South African urban society."

Force Africans Out

But the Government does not agree. This year it has taken a number of steps to force Africans out of the towns:—

1. Unemployed Africans are endorsed out of town to the reserves and may not return again without the permission of their Bantu Authority.
2. The right of Africans to own homes on a 30-year lease in the townships is being abolished. In future, all homes must be rented.
3. Africans born in the urban areas are not allowed to marry people from outside.
4. Women who are deserted by their husbands are not allowed to remain in the townships with their children.
5. Most new facilities in the way of schools, hospitals etc are being provided only in the reserves, not in the townships.
6. Blaar Coetzee has specifically instructed City Councils to ensure that they do not make life too attractive to Africans in the towns.

Migratory Slave Labor

The Nationalist Government has no intention of depriving the Whites of African labour. All it wants to ensure is that this labour is migratory, and not permanently settled in the towns.

Even Blaar Coetzee admits there will always be millions of Africans working in the White areas. But he wants them as migratory labourers only, without trade unions and organizations to defend them, at the mercy of employers and the government, paid starvation wages which they will have to accept because the alternative is repatriation to the poverty-stricken reserves where there is no work at all.

The Government's homelands scheme, Bantustans, separate development — call it what you like — is a scheme for the mass transformation of people into labour units for the greater glory of the white man. This is slavery under a new guise — but slavery all the same.

Freedom Charter

This is the ideology against which the African National Congress and its allies in the Congress movement have posed their own ideology, the ideals set out in the Freedom Charter. Regarding the above, the following section of the Freedom Charter should be considered:—
THE PEOPLE SHALL GOVERN! says the Charter; Every man and woman shall have the right to vote for and to stand as a candidate for all bodies which make laws;

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

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

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

QUOTES

FROM THE OTHER SIDE

Helen Suzman, lone Progressive Party MP in South Africa, in a statement in the South African House of Assembly:—

"The white community should not deceive itself about the so-called peace and quiet reigning in South Africa at the moment, because it is peace maintained at the point of a gun."

Theo Gerdener, prominent member of Vorster's Nationalist Party and Administrator of Natal, in a statement quoted in the Durban *'Sunday Tribune'* of 21 April 1968:—

"It is not true that non-White South Africans are satisfied merely with enough to eat, a place to sleep and reasonable wages. These people have no option but to accept apartheid, but the calm on the surface does not necessarily mean that they enjoy it or are content. Consequently, it is fallacious to believe, in the case of war against South Africa, that the non-Whites will stand with the Whites and support them. There is no guarantee of this, and it is more logical that many will either do nothing to help the whites, or may even assist the enemy."

"The terrorist activity from the north holds no real danger for South Africa while Rhodesia, Mozambique and Angola provide a buffer. However, there is no assurance that the Portuguese forces will be maintained on these frontiers forever. If they were withdrawn, it would be a matter of weeks or months before South Africa was involved in a bloody struggle."

Dr Carel de Wet, Minister of Mines and Planning, quoted in the Johannesburg *Sunday Times* of 28 April 1968:—

"We fully expect the next few years to be the most difficult in the history of South Africa."

Mr Champion Mhlathi, one of the S. A. regime's African stooges which the Government relies on to carry out its policies, reported in the *Ilange Lase Natal* of 20 April:—

"There is no evidence that apartheid brings peace and satisfaction among Africans. Apartheid laws have silenced the voice of the opponents of apartheid only. What happened to the ANC? What happened to the leaders of the African people? Where are the Whites and Indians that are opposed to apartheid? We asked these questions even though we know that some are in their graves killed by apartheid and others in jails. Yes, I agree with those who say there is peace, but it is peace of the graveyard."

CONTENTS

Sechaba Vol 2 No 7 July 1968

Publicity Director - Alfred Kgokong
Managing Editor - Joe Matthews
Editor-in-Chief - Mandla Nkosi

Sechaba, 49 Rathbone Street, London W. 1

SMITH-VORSTER LIES EXPOSED	1
While Smith and Vorster churn out lying propaganda, the struggle of the people surges forward	
THE ROLE OF THE COLOURED COMMUNITY	3
Reg September of the Coloured Peoples Congress answers questions on S. A.'s 1 ³ / ₄ million Coloured people	
REG SEPTEMBER	4
Secretary-General of the CPC - a biographical note	
CONGRESS UNDERGROUND MOBILIZES	7
Three leaflets that appeared in South Africa in April this year. 1. The ANC speaks to white South Africans. 2. Dr Dadoo calls upon South Africa's Indian community. 3. The CPC exhorts the Coloured community to join the freedom struggle.	
IN MEMORIAM: ALBERT LUTULI	11
One year ago this month, Chief Lutuli, President-General of the ANC, met a tragic death when killed at a level crossing. A poem by Dr N. G. Maroudas remembers the great Chief.	
LIFE UNDER APARTHEID	12
Current news items showing day-to-day life under apartheid.	
REPORT AND COMMENT	13
Sour-grapes South Africa is to hold its own Games - and is seeking to get international participation.	
BACKGROUND TO AFRICAN LITERATURE	14
by Mazisi Kunene. The South African poet and ANC Representative examines literary forms common throughout Africa.	
SLAVERY IN NEW DISGUISES	16
The much-lauded 'Bantu Councils' are shown to be yet another machinery of oppression.	

Any article in Sechaba may be reprinted without cost or permission. We would however like to receive a copy of the material as used. Send to The Editor, Sechaba, 49 Rathbone Street, London W. 1.