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official or

african nationa

south afriio

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= Page 2 =

FIGHTING TALK

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Te kg ram s & Cables SECHABA LONDON WI
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CONTENTS

Once again South Africa's oppressed population has

given its verdict on apartheid, They don't want it no matter

FIGHTING TALK: FRAUD EXPOSED

The Coloured People's rejection of apartheid how it is dressed up, disguised or sugar-coated! This is
in the recent efeciom. 2 clear from the first voting by the Coloured
population —

that is, those who South Africa classifies as neither

PORTRAIT OF THE ENEMY

S* L Muller — Minister of Potice 4 "white", "Bantu" nor "Asiatic". {Their terms). The
vote was
for the newly constituted "Coloured People's Representa

THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN institution carefully race- REVOLUTION - A penetrating analysis of current problems of our be a step towards revolution in its internal and external aspect!, result shows, by Joe Matthews. want the OFF THE CUFF Sechobo interviews on adviser to the Vietnam decision. Tradition- Paris Peace talks. HOSTILE WITNESS - Anti Apartheid's Ten Year Record: where the An assessment of the achievements of the Anti — Apartheid Movement in Britain, vote for Parlia-		5	overwhelmingly, that the Coloured people don't government's mess of pottage. There is a long background to their 9 ally, before the Afrikaner Nationalist government, the Coloured people occupied a special place in South Africa's racial hierarchy. In the Cape Province,
TREASON TRIAL 1956 some Centre page spread of pictures and a poem by Barry Feinberg to mark the anniversary rest of the non* of this highly significant event but only in HIGH STAKES AT CABORA BASSA A full scale analysis of the vast proportions of this Debarred from putting scheme which threatens to become a major area of membership of the confrontation with white power in Southern Africa. constituting a minority of the		11	mentary candidates - on a common voters roll with the whites - though not to stand as candidates. And majority of them live, they were eligible to 12 white population, were also open to them - that Province, for peculiar historical reasons. The franchise rights were something of a fraud, up candidates, and debarred from 14 main parliamentary parties,
PRIEST KILLED IN DETENTION the step- ANC statement on the death of were sought, Imam Abdullah Horoun. deeds and		19	voters in all wards, the Coloured voters became children of the voting aristocracy. Their votes often bought, at election times; but their
FIGHTING AN ARMY OF OCCUPATION aside between A reader's view on urban struggle strategy many Coloured in South Africa. oppres-		20	claims were forgotten, ignored or tossed elections. Even so, that fraud kept alive for people the illusion that they were not part of the
BOOK REVIEW the Resettlements — The New Violence to Africans. towards it in a strictly Internationale Defence and Aid Pamphlet.		23	sed non-white majority and that their future lay with white rulers, - even if they rode second-class carriage.

AN APPEAL TO READERS
struggle for

SPECIAL OFFER
relegated

NOW AVAILABLE
those

50 BOUND VOLUMES OF
in Parlia-

* VoT 1 Nos 1-12 * Vol 2 Nos 1-12
the Coloured

ATTRACTIVELY BOUND IN HARD COVERS
racialist reasons, partly

Vo(3 in the course of preparation
white party,

Price £5 (*15)

ORDER EARLY TO AVOID DISAPPOINTMENT!
to segregate Coloured

Cheque/postal order should be made payable to:
which would elect

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24 Afrikaner nationalism, in its early days of
power joined in the game of wooing the Coloured electorate, But not for long. As It moved closer towards power, white chauvinism become its dominant creed. Increasingly,

in its propaganda, the Coloured people were
to the ranks of the other non-whites, destined to be the hewers of wood for the white aristocracy. Thus

coloured people who could be bothered to vote
mentary elections voted solidly against Afrikaner Nationalist candidate and so roused still further the racialism of the Nationalists,

The first Nationalist government abolished

people's voting rights, partly for

to cut away their sizeable vote from the other

the United Party. In 1950, it proposed legislation to abolish the common voters roll, and

oured voters to a separate voting list

special "Coloured Representatives" to Parliament The Coloured Representatives would — naturally all be

2

= Page 3 =

white, The law passed in the teeth of fairly bitter opposition. Facilities and money

sition from the United Party and anti-Nationalist whites government sponsored pro-

generally. There was little opposition from the Coloured people themselves. Experience of what the franchise of small groups of

would bring them in a white-dominated Parliament had form an anti-Coloured

made many apathetic, disillusioned. of Coloured

The law passed, and the first elections of "Coloured Representatives" were duly held. Again many Coloured

"opting out" which has

voters stayed away out of apathy: many more refused to organisations for so

vote as an act of protest. Even so, the candidates elected become a Coloured tradition

were all anti-apartheid — various shades of liberal and The Government lost!

confidently ahead, certain of victory.

were placed at the disposal of

apartheid groups.

Challenged by the election, a number

Coloured people came together to

anti-apartheid "Labour Party". Other groups

people urged everyone to boycott

of protest - a form of passive

been advocated by certain radical

many years that it has almost

tion* In the event, both groups won.

progressive. Every pro-apartheid candidate lost heavily. Party won 24, Its main Act 1 in the working out of Nationalist policy had misfired. Instead of destroying Coloured political influence, four party leaders it had produced a group of strongly anti-government victory was sweeping MP's, talking in the name of the Coloured people, a where farmers took constant thorn in the government's side. scored some Act 2 — Inevitably — was the total abolition of all Coloured voting rights for Parliament, The decision was in a triumph: for the conformity with the new Verwoerd philosophy of the world that the Coloured apartheid state. The Coloured people - like the "Bantu" - *'Bantustan' a disaster. There would be given "rights in their own area/" Their representatives in Parliament would be abolished, A "Representative Council" would be set up, on which the Coloured people themselves could serve - as in any Bantustan, Its rights would — as in any Bantustan — be strictly limited to communal affairs of minor importance, and subject to strict Government supervision, interference and veto. These are the elections that have just been held. But before the vote, the stage had to be properly set to ensure the right result, First, legislation had to be passed to prevent any progressive, democratic or radical influences "getting at" the Coloured voters. Called "The Prevention of Interference" law, this law made it a criminal offence for any person of one race to interfere in the political affairs, campaigns or elections of any other racial group. Its first target was the African and Indian liberation movements, which were campaigning to persuade the Coloured people that their liberation could only be won in unity with the other oppressed groups; Labour Party, now the and its second the progressive, multi-racial opposition undecided whether to

Of the 40 elected seats, the Labour pro-apartheid opposition, the Federal pro-apartheid groups contesting, all were defeated. The Labour Party's in the towns. Only in the countryside, their workers in to vote, the Federal Party victories. For the advocates of the boycott it was Government seeking to show the people had accepted their are 1,900,000 Coloured people. Some were eligible to vote. After oil the hortation, and all the pressure put dom and their bosses, only 251,000 voted. away — in protest or disgust. Their 'NO!' to apartheid. But even then the farce was not Council has 60 members — 40 the Government, The Labour Party elected seats. But the Government has apartheid members to form a pro-Swartz, leader of the Federal Party, constituency and leader of the party voters, has been nominated to one of by other nominated failures, he has of the Council, Democratic rights South African style. The tale is not yet ended. The "minority" at the time of writing, is

parties - Liberal and Progressive — who had members or to resign en bloc. amongst the Coloured people, and commanded considerable support for their anti-apartheid platforms. The have learnt something bar against "Interference" wasn't intended to operate even here in this white against pro-apartheid interference. And in fact it did not, can propose, but in Du ring the campaign leading up to the first elections of They have learnt too the "Representative Council" there was constant interference. Police - white - interfered to harry opposition that they have no candidates. Farmers - white — and employers — white — white ruling caste; they openly threatened their workers and instructed them how Their future — their only to vote* Officials — white — and bureaucrats — white — struggle together with the Afrikaners. obstructed opposition candidates, banned their meetings, rights for all South Africans. intimidated. With the stage thus set* the government went white domination.

= Page 4 =

quali-
firm of
rising
senior
Council
constituency
Execu-
later. The
M.P,
became
Prisons
the

1966- Mr. S. L. Muller, Minister of Police, appealed to the Jewish community to "put their hands in their own bosom" and use their influence with their young people "to respect authority in South Africa and not disrupt it." Anticipating an unfavourable reaction to his speech - the first he had made since his appointment as Minister earlier in the month - Mr. Muller stressed that he bore no grudge against the Jewish community. On the contrary (wait for it, here it comes), "some of my best friends are Jews".

boycott the whole affair in protest, But whatever it decides to do same again* The Coloured people they will not forget. That is, that fortress, the Nationalist Government the end its the people who decide. what the African National Congress been telling them for many years — future in South Africa with the have no future on their own. future* lies in unity and in African and Indian people for equal Africans, for liberation from

attorneys in Cape Town. After flying in 1949 he joined a attorneys in Robertson, Cape, eventually to the position of partner, Muller entered the Provincial in 1956 in the Worcester and became a member of the Executive Committee four years following year he was elected for Ceres. In September 1960 Muller Deputy Minister of Justice, and Police and in December of same year substituted Finance and

two
August
Dr. Al-
mi-
full
the In-
Vor-
utterance to
should
He has
impose
both
subverting
for
attacked
the Na-
African
law,
Golding
he
either
police for
and
internal

In South Africa there was no longer a feeling against the Jewish community - it was less than it had ever been before, said the Minister* All the same, it was time the Jewish community adopted an attitude towards the participation of Jewish students in demonstrations and sit-ins. It was also a hard fact that a large percentage of named Communists and convicted saboteurs in recent years were Jews, he added. The headline to the report of his speech in Pretoria's Nationalist newspaper "Hoofstad" the next morning was: "Jewish Students Must Beware". Not unnaturally, there was an outcry, and Muller was accused of promoting anti-Semitism not only by the Jewish Board of Deputies but also by leaders of the United and Progressive parties and other public figures. Prime Minister Vorster jumped to Mullers defence. The Jewish community should be less hyper-sensitive to criticism expressed in their own interests by a responsible minister, said Vorster. Muller also got the backing of a former mayor of Brokopon, Mr, Gerald

Economic Affairs for the first portfolios. But it was not until 1968, when Vorster droppedbert Hertig and three other nisters, that Muller obtained Cabinet rank as Minister of terior and Police, Though evidently regarded by ster as a reliable verligte, Muller has so far only given remarks which by rights qualify him as a verkrampste, repeatedly threatened to stricter censorship on the press, English and Afrikaans, far the morals of "the volk" and "distorting" facts. He has student demonstrators and tional Union of South Students CNUSAS). For a man with lejial training, he shows no respect for the rule of of "unlawful activities" before had even appeared in court os on accused or as a witness. He repeatedly praises the preserving stability both inside South Africa and on her borders boasts that South Africa's

of the Kalk, who said in on interview with security has become the envy
 the "Sunday Times": "I agree entirely world.
 with the Minister of Police. These He accuses African countries
 who oppose apartheid of "race hatred
 OF POLICE Israel bashing the Egyptians, should such as the world has never
 known - children who, as Jews* should be in
 race hatred based on colour pre-
 be spanked *.
 We whites must stick together, you
 condoned by the world because it
 know E judice which has apparently been
 Mutler is, like his senior Cabinet is the Blade man who is
 exercising Tt
 colleague Ben Schoeman, Minister of and it is the White man who
 Is suf-
 Transport, a former railwayman. fering. "
 A newly cultivated urbanity sits un- Born in 1917, he went to high school At the close of
 the Cape congress
 easily on the features of cigar at Beaufort West but had to leave of the Nationalist
 Party at Port
 smoking, smooth talking Mr. Muller. after passing standard 9 because hts Elizabeth in
 September 1969, Muller
 Deeply prejudiced and stubbornly father could not afford to keep him displayed the
 new face of South
 intolerant of opposition» Mr, Muller there. He Jioined the railways and for African
 imperialist ambition:
 has made his department even more the first year earned 4d an hour as "South Africa
 has a calling not to
 aggressively belligerent than it was an apprentice turner and machinist. remain small
 and narrowminded but
 before. For his personal delight, he After five years he qualified as an to become great
 and to make our
 bos made Jew-boiting his own artisan and spent a further five influence felt in the
 world — tn the
 special responsibility. years with the S. A. R. at Salt River. first instance (n Africa,
 to ensure
 Addressing a Nationalist Party meet' In 1944 he resigned, wrote his matric our own safety
 and not for the sake
 ing in Potchefstroom on August 28, and became articled to a firm of of being poily
 with Non-Whites*,

4

= Page 5 =

or THE

South African Revolution is

False Theories and Pessimism

entering a new stage. The Consultative
a complex struggle

tive Conference of the African Nations
infected by false theories

national Congress held at Morogoro,
based on mobilisation

Tanzania last May reflected this.
has scored some

sustained

since

The documents adopted at the Conference
of our initiative. But

cer-

ference contained much valuable
generalised conclusions

material and will well repay careful
struggle.

study. A number of comrades both
and the liberation

at home and abroad have still not
that the struggle

slogans

grasped the full significance of the
shouted by some

ANC conference. Even more regrettable
the path by which

it

able is the fact that the perspectives
advance would not

and decisions of the conference
struggle would

thought

have not been sufficiently explained

to the masses of our people. This
same elements

deficiency must be corrected at
Confronted by a tough

prattling

Confronted by the inevitable difficulties of

such as ours, some people have become

ries concerning our revolution. We are on the threshold of
a great advance in our struggle for freedom

sation of the masses at home. The movement
notable successes in the last few years. We have also

severe setbacks. A careful balance sheet will show that

Rivonia we have made a steady recovery
some people unable to see events in their totality pick on

tain negative features and draw wildly

about the progress of our revolutionary

In the early part of this decade the ANC

movement in general) had to combat the idea
in South Africa would be a short one. In those days

promising freedom by a particular year were
irresponsible elements. The ANC pointed out then that the
struggle in South Africa would not follow
many African countries achieved independence. We made

clear that negotiations and constitutional

bring about our freedom. We said then that the
be long and difficult. History has proved that those who

the struggle would be brief were utterly wrong.

As is usual with petit bourgeoisie intellectuals the

have now swung to the other extreme.

and long revolutionary struggle the people who were

about a quick victory have become the biggest pessimists.

once. A big campaign to make the military strength

Basing themselves on the great disparity in

conclude

entire liberation movement aware situation. This atti

and resources between ourselves and the enemy they

that there is little hope of a change in the

of the current problems of our revo our country is not

tude also is quite wrong, The situation in

static but 1\$ rapidly developing in many different directions.

The

lution must be launched at all levels reactionary offen

period of lull is rapidly coming to a close. The

sive that has marked the last nine years has now lost

impetus.

in order to consolidate unity, deve

lop and mobilise the mass move Southern Africa the

Faced with a growing armed revolution in

ment of the oppressed people and the future^ Recent

ruling classes in our country are beginning to commit strategic mistakes with far-reaching consequences for

stra-

intensify the armed revolution. contradictions that

divisions within the ruling group reflect differences in the

tegy for preserving white supremacy- The

have always been inherent in the South African social structure

= Page 6 =

ore growing acute. Provided the movement gives clear leader laid the basis both in principle

The Morogoro conference has

ship and puts forward correct strategic and tactical plans and complete remoulding of our move

ond in organisation for o

directives as well as selfless organisational work, an upturn utilisation of our possibilities in

ment so OS to enable full

in the struggle is inevitable. conditions

mobilising the masses Ft should be noted that in

possible

such as obtain in our police-ridden country it is not

conjunction

to organise the masses e*cept Os port of and in

A Protracted Struggle

with the waging of armed struggle-

masses

It is also necessary to get rid of the concept that the

Our movement must be oriented on the perspective of a struggle people at the top. Our experience

will be organised by a few

that will be fairly protracted but will undoubtedly be crowned with success.

teaches that the masses of the people display great

organisa-

tional initiative themselves. We must make it possible for

our

The armed revolution in Algeria took about eight years before supporters to do organisational work

numerous activists and

victory was achieved. In heroic Vietnam the struggle has been
Whilst we begin the struggle

going on for decades first against the French and then against
far as military technique and

the United States, The revolution in Angola began eight years
not inevitable or permanent.

ago and has registered big successes. The struggle in Guinea -
acquire both the techniques of

(Bissau) and in Mozambique have similarly gone on for some
such a war.

time now,

Like all oppressed peoples we would naturally like to get rid
of the oppressors and exploiters in the shortest possible time.

Should it turn out that the revolution develops faster than expected
we should be ready for that. But any serious analysis
seems to suggest that our struggle will be a long one.

practical to achieve complete

co-ordination and unity of the national liberation and
progress-

The ruling oligarchy in our country has been entrenched in
the ANC. This means that on

power for a long period. Everything has been done to deprive
prosecuting the revolution is now being

the majority of the people of any element of power. The coercive
those forces opposed to the

civic machinery of the state is virtually entirely manned by
Fascist regime. No organised

members of the privileged white minority. The enemy have at
around the ANC and its allies

their disposal all the resources of a wealthy and fairly developed
the struggle. All reformists

developed modern state. Last but by no means least the enemy has
which at one time existed in our

been able to count on the many-sided support of the major imperialist
both ideologically and organisationally.

imperialist powers.

conducting the

On the other hand the oppressed people start off the armed
struggle with a number of serious disadvantages. The most
of the South African regimes

important of them is the relative absence of military equipment
moment. But this must not be

ment and techniques. The people also have not acquired knowledge
not a world power and the privilege

ledge of the method of guerrilla warfare in the mass. To correct
small. In the long run this

these weaknesses will be a slow process during the course of
very much,

developing our armed revolutionary struggle. Why then in spite
of the factors mentioned above are we so absolutely certain

inevitable victory is that our

of victory?

Firstly

armed

in support of the armed struggle.

in a relatively weak position in so

arms supplies are concerned, this is

Step by step, our people must

war and the means for fighting

Unite all Progressive Forces

In the resistance war it is now

sive forces under the leadership of

authoritative organ for

built with the full support of oil

continued existence of the present

tion outside the united Front built

exists which is capable of leading

and opportunist groupings

country have disintegrated

tionally. This is an extremely favourable factor for

revolutionary war,

We have said that the resources

are great relative to ours at the

exaggerated. South Africa is

privileged minority is numerically

weakness of the enemy will tell

A vital factor making for our

struggle has the support of friends all over the world.

we have direct allies in the millions who support the

The fundamental and decisive factor to bear in mind is that countries of Namibia, Angola, the national liberation movement is historically and socially particular the alliance with ZAPU a progressive force fighting for a better life for the people. great importance to our The enemy on the other hand fights under the banner of reaction to protect ill-gotten gains and privileges enjoyed by the country it will reach a level minority at the expense of the people. The policy of imperialist countries to increase their suppression of the people is retrogressive and some of our neighbours who doomed to defeat. On no account can the enemy ever gain hesitating and wavering under support from the people for a policy of suppressing them. This time will come when the level is a fundamental and permanent feature of the situation which will enable our neighbours to is often undervalued, precisely because it is so obvious. But in genuine supporters of the a prolonged armed revolution if it is the factor that more and that stage any government more determines the side which wins.

would

countries

Powerful social Forces Fascism.

Some

Very powerful social forces stand fundamentally opposed to the taking a direction hostile to our

present regime. The national movement of the oppressed our enemies, Others take up

Africans, Indians and Coloured stand opposed to the regime. which we as the representatives

The forces of social change among the workers, peasants and people, disapprove. It will not be

intellectuals stand opposed to the regime. These forces have up positions which we in the

within them tremendous power when organised. The onset of struggle in our country reaches

every new form of struggle has the immediate tendency to "paint". Our immediate task

temporarily disrupt organisation. This happened in our case requisite level of armed struggle

also at different times in our history. When the period of non-violent

struggle come to an end it found the liberation movement form a major part of support for

ment in our country in possession of a stable leadership in command of a relatively well organised mass movement. The Asian states, the Latin American

adoption of the decision to wage armed struggle for the overthrow which already play a vital

struggle in our neighbouring

Zimbabwe, Mozambique. In

and the people of Zimbabwe is of

prospects of victory.

As the struggle develops in our

which will oblige neighbouring

port to our people. At the moment

sympathise with our cause are

the threats of the Fascists- A

of the struggle in South Africa

come out in their true colours of

oppressed people in our country. At

that did not support the armed struggle of our people

be overthrown by the masses in the neighbouring

who know full well the evils of Apartheid and

In other African countries we have to take the long view.

countries like Malawi are

struggle and collaborating with

political and economic positions of

tives of the South African

possible for these countries to take

ANC dislike, the moment the

what might be called the "critical

is to work hard to achieve the

in our country* But there is no

independent African states will

our struggle.

Further afield are the Afro-

countries, the Socialist states

throw of the regime involved a complete change of strategy, allies internationally.

tactics, propaganda, organisational machinery and so on. This eventually be translated into

could not but result in some disruption of organisation to so-called armed struggle. Hence it is impossible

nothing of the fact that the reaction of the enemy added further international work as an aid to their difficulties.

role in isolating Apartheid and its

This international support will

massive direct resistance to our

important constantly to develop our

not only now but in the future.

6

= Page 7 =

To sum up then, our struggle for liberation is likely to be a prolonged one and we must base our actions and planning with on economic progress brought

that is our orientation. This does not mean we have all the time from which they do not benefit

in the world. It is necessary to work hard and selflessly to on the part of the regime

achieve the overthrow of the disastrous Apartheid regime as fast as possible. But we consider that the struggle will be long and we must get our people and our friends and supporters to understand the implications of this perspective.

South Africa Remains

the African people. To turn round and

to congratulate the regime for

about through their misery and

is the sheerest goll and impudence

and its servitors.

On the other hand our victory is absolutely certain. Both historically and in practical terms the conditions now exist which were not there ten years ago for a successful revolutionary war in our country.

a Backward Country

bulk

An economy based on this primitive exploitation of the

of the people coupled with a ruthless policy designed to deprive them of skills contains a fundamental weakness. Further

progress

An Arsenal of Fiendish Laws
colour bars in

and economic growth require an end to the

inter-

industry, education and politics. Apartheid has now become a major barrier to the growth of the economy and to its

The basic character of the regime in our country has not changed, The Fascist regime has now been in power in South Africa for twenty-one years. This has caused some people to compare the longevity of the regime with those of Spain and Portugal.

gration with its natural

compare the economic position

continent.

There are important differences. For one thing the Spanish and African states and this makes

The general tendency is to

of South Africa with that of other

Portuguese Fascist regimes are ruling respectively Spaniards strong. In fact by international and Portuguese. The small white privileged minority has imposed backward country. Of course, to

Fascism on what is really a huge colonially oppressed people- "South Africa" means the White

Such a regime can no longer be tolerated in a resurgent Africa. standard of living at the expense

The empires of Spain and Portugal in Africa are similarly headed one has regard to the economic

for collapse. countries it

indices that distinguish backward from advanced

will be seen that South Africa is way behind- In terms of per

During this whole period of Fascist rule the reactionary offensive and terror directed against the people has steadily grown. education; housing; transport;

The arsenal of fiendish laws becomes larger. Reprisals and the country is backward.

torture of freedom fighters claim a growing list of victims. now become an essential element

Thousands of the finest people in our country are imprisoned economic growth and progress

in the goals of the oppressors- The notorious pass laws are ever more stringently applied. Military preparations have economic developments of the last

reached a level at which they now play a significant role in the tempestuous growth of the working

economy. class

class. Economic laws are operating to expand the working

The grim picture of national oppression and exploitation is in no working class- Sooner or later this

way modified by the so-called "homelands" policy or by the and rack the regime to its

much vaunted economic "boom" about which we hear so much, South Africa is a Fascist state with no redeeming features.

developed without a clear attitude

Such a regime must be overthrown and all our efforts must be affects the bulk of the South

concentrated on just that. Reserves, on

Alricor oppressed people The people in the

The talk of an economy boom has arisen from the Swinft dC' plantations must know that

velocity must have taken place in the industrial sector of the seining of the land from those

technically it should be satisfied that the chief motive force is it today, When economic

development has been precisely low wages, tough labour liberated workers will depend on the

lack of, absence of social security, no trade unions, no political and on the need to suit in

the initial period -

it appear as if the economy is

standards South Africa is o

the apologists of the regime

people, who, enjoy a high

of the non-white people. But if

indices that distinguish backward from advanced

will be seen that South Africa is way behind- In terms of

per capita income: health services;

Cultural and recreational facilities,

The overthrow of Apartheid has

ment in any policy of continued

of the country.

One positive factor in the

few years has been the

class. Economic laws are operating to expand the working

and especially the industrial

mighty force will make itself felt

foundations.

The armed struggle cannot be

tude to the land question which

Alricor oppressed people The people in the

European farms and on the huge

in lighting they are aiming at the

who illegally and unjustifiably control

policies will be followed in

concrete conditions obtaining then,

the struggle did develop it further

= Page 8 =

must expect the position to be untidy and according to armchair
one single fact to justify any
revolutionaries, even chaotic. But there is no possibility of de-
even lead to any amelioration
veloping guerilla struggle without making It very clear that the
and' experience have taught us
liberation movement is colling on the people to fight for the
vital is that without building
land and to drive off the farms and plantations all those who
conducting revolutionary
have ruthlessly exploited the people. The loud borons must be
oppressed and exploited people.
driven off the land which must be token over by those v^ho
oppressed national groups and
actually work*
armed revolu-

experience today. There is not
expectation that reform could
of our conditions. Our history
very horsh Jessons. One of the most
an army, arming our people and
struggle we will remain an
The only correct path for the
their democratic supporters among the whites is

tionary struggle. This is not altered by the problems and
difficulties thot confront us in developing the revolution.

A great Revolutionary Potential

Utilising all Available Talents

The revolutionary potential of the rural masses is very great.
It is only under conditions of armed struggle that it becomes
possible to organise those on the European farms. The urban
hastheexperienceand resources to make the Gan-
proletariat is destined to be the vanguard of the struggle in our
our revolution. The decisions
country not only by reason of its advanced social and organisa-
utilising all the talents of our
tional role but olsa because of its numerical strength. The
New elements need to be
revolution in our country cannot succeed unless the working
every level in order to rein-
class is mobilised and exercises hegemony over the revolution
renewal of our movement. It is
in practice and in fact. No other closs exists in our country that
to be mobilised for the
can exercise the role of leader and organiser of the revolution.
we have not done nearly
The middle closs and petit bourgeoisie elements among the
the masses of our people. They
oppressed people ore too weak to play the role of vanguard.
negotive sort of way by the enemy.
So thoi in our country the vanguard role of the working class
been very busy telling the
is not only a matter of preference, it is an actual necessity as
Zimbabwe, Mozambique
it is the only doss that con exercise hegemony in the revolu-
vicious propaganda cam-
tion and in its consolidation after the victory of the revolution.
its leaders. They hove sent
This truth about our country ought to be grasped firmly and put
rural areas telling the people to

Our movement
ges and efforts needed to carry out
of Morogoro lay the basis for
people far the tasks that lie ahead.
brought into leading positions ot
force and provide necessary
necessary to enable pll our people
revolutionary struggle. Up to now
enough positive mobilisation of
have been mobilised in o
The enemy press and radio have
people about the guerrilla struggles in
and Angola. They have conducted
paigns against our movement and
information officers all over the

into practice in our policies. We have to admit that the consequences of this have not yet been fully grasped by all sectors of the national movement although there is a general, unguided But this is a negative mobilisation and almost unconscious movement in that direction. interests. *

Our struggle would make much faster progress if the theoretical and practical implications of working class leadership of our The people have to be national movement were understood. Often this issue is the revolution. Our theory unjustifiably confused with another. Our movement is organised possession of all our people. under the banner of the African National Congress which leads the national democratic revolution. The liberation of the African people is the main content of the democratic revolution. But in order to succeed and in order that the revolution should be carried through to the end it is essential that the working class of our country which has and continues to bear the brunt of the struggle must have hegemony of the whole liberation movement undertaken the responsibility, What this means and how it is organisationally reflected African people but all national requires the attention of all sectors of the movement. overthrow of the Fascist regime-

the

revolution-

The Fraud of Reform want change.

society

Charter,

There is no possibility of securing changes in our country except present crisis brought about by through revolution. Faced with temporary difficulties, some people especially outside our own movement are beginning to toy with all manner of reformist theories. These find currency in the all levels of our movement realm of Bantustan politics. Some intellectuals have decided our policies, strategy and to participate in politics as supporters of "separate development", In the Transkei and elsewhere some people, for selfish disciplined movement with reasons, are endeavouring to justify government policy. The unqualified support and confidence Bantustans have now been established in the Northern Transvaal, achieved by administrative means

"co-operate" with the government movement. This is telling the making them curious about L]. conducted by our enemies against our

We have to see that the voice the masses by all means possible. drawn into the manifold tasks of of revolution, must become the

For a new Society

The African National Congress ity of organising not only the groups in the struggle for the

This means that organisational forms have to be built by

ANC for this purpose. This will facilitate not only the

any struggle but will project the ANC as the alternative to the present regime of white supremacy. We do not Just

Our national liberation movement desires to remake

in a new and just way, Our programme, the Freedom

offers the way out of the

Apartheid,

A big campaign must be waged at

to bring about understanding of

tactics. On the basis of a profound

to build a strong, united and

a leadership that enjoys the

of the people. This cannot be

Western Transvaal, Ciskei and Transkei. We have just had who consciously understand elections for the Coloured Representative Council; The Indian they will achieve victory,

Council has also been set up. Does all this suggest that we are now in a period of retreat in which reform comes to the fore of politics and have parti-

Os a tactic? have

The reformist experiments are a cruel farce. The whole of Africa have confidence. Thousands is virtually free from foreign rule. Independent states have sprung the goals of the enemy place

up on the borders of and within the Republic of South Africa. Whilst it is true that we need

In the still colonial territories the people are waging heroic ideological work, basically

guerrilla struggles for their freedom. South Africa is no exception looking for a movement that can

to the developments taking place in the rest of Africa. methods of struggle against

the Apartheid regime. We are convinced that faithful application

Reformism in our country historically failed in a very long period conference will lead to the

to lead our people to freedom. On the contrary the most prosecution of armed revolution in

sustained reformist policies led to the Fascism and terror we

but only on the basis of people

what they are fighting for and how

*

Our people have great experience

icipated consistently in struggle for many decades. They

built organisations in which they

of our colleagues who languish in

their hopes on the movement.

a big expansion of propaganda and

the people of South Africa are

provide practical and effective

of the decisions of the Morogoro

successful beginning and

our country.

= Page 9 =

A Sechaba Interview

I

Mr. Vo Anh Minh, adviser to the South Vietnam

Provisional Revolutionary Government delegation to the Paris Peace talks recently held on Press

Conference in London under the chairmanship of Lord Brockway of the Movement for Colonial Freedom. A Sechaba representative was present

and was accorded the opportunity to ask Mr, Minh some questions of special interest to readers of our journal

It is frequently said that the Vietnamese people have brought unity?

ker. the myth of United States invincibility and that this the enemy, so that

How did you develop the people's

At the beginning we were weaker than

has great significance for oppressed people everywhere-long struggle^ Also we

Would you like to say how you see the Vietnamese struggle people and our own efforts.

in a world context?
political

In our fight we have won the sympathy of many peoples in determinatoin, we worked

the world. These people see we ore fighting for justice.

The NLF has enjoyed great prestige In the world. Since with the political

the formation of the Provisional Revolutionary Government present?

this prestige has been enhanced, and os soon as the Pro^ovisional Revolutionary Government was announced many some importance. In our

countries recognised ft and established diplomatic rela^o formed earlier thon

tions with it. Furthermore, though we are fighting first of basis for the mili^o

all for the liberation of our people, we hope thereby to military organisations

moke a humble contribution to the struggle for justice for political organisations,

all people, especially the countries under imperialist you must achieve

domination.

The unprecedented heroism of the Vietnamese people has that the NLF started with

won the admiration of all progressive mankind» how is ft that they have been so courageous?
to them?

Our country has been invaded by many foreigners and people hod no alternative

oppressors. It Is because of foreign aggression that our their agents, and

people were forced to leod miserable lives. The only way from the people.

out was for them to unite to liberate themselves. On the other hand, our nation has a long and rich tradition of the beginning of

struggle. We know how to rely on the people. The people hove created many means of fighting ond they encourage

and with sticks, We

our fighters. Another important factor is that we worked and captured weapons

out the lines of policy of our resistance and got the we hove now ore

peoples' support for it. So a good line and policy of resist^o also used very old

ance has aroused the maximum will to national resistance used against the enemy.

of the people.
pro-

we had to rely on a strategy of a

hod to rely mainly on our own

First we united all sections of the notion by

means, and then, with our great

out the means far fighting.

How did the military aspect combine

and which is predominant at

These two aspects hove the

struggle the political organisation was

the military organisation so it was a

tary structure. Now, In combat, the

have the duty to help develop the

That is why it can be soid thot in a battle

two objectives — political and military.

I would like to osk you some questions about the beginn^o

ing of your struggle. It is soid

only 100 groups, how did the people respond

As you know the Americans and their puppet troops were

very cruel to the people, so our

but to rise against the oppressors and

our first groups received full support

Where did the NLF get its first arms at

the struggle?

We started with our bare hands

deveFoped what strength we had»

from the enemy. Most of the weapons

captured from the U.S. forces. We

weapons which we converted and

We have always had arms arsenals in the jungle to

But most important in the great victories we have recorded used bombs dropped by thus for, is the unity of our population and this is the turned them into most important consideration for a people fighting a war.

duce weapons. We have also the Americans but did not explode and mines.

9

= Page 10 =

What is the present situation in your country? France had

ment in France itself to which Mendes

responded.

The Americans and the Saigon Administration have been saying that we have no more strength, but in fact we have defeated them many times on the battlefield» and we have won one victory after another. Because of this, they are now resorting to a strategy of the defence of the towns Mr. Minh made the and their important bases.

STATEMENT BY MINH

At the beginning of the conference, following statement:

This means that you are able to integrate the peasants from Saigon that the more closely into the struggle? against the

•We have just received a report United States has just committed fresh crimes

Yes. In our country, an agricultural country, the most 8 miles North of important problem is the peasant problem. To liberate the country you must liberate the peasants. To do this, you must give them land and this is one of the main objectives over 1.4 million women and in our struggle.

prisoners in South Vietnam in a prison Saigon.

That is the Thu Due prison* where

children have been jailed, I would like to say a few words about the living conditions in the prisons, There are narrow

Does this mean that you expropriate land and redistribute living conditions are it?

row rooms for the prisoners and the

Most of the land in South Vietnam is in the hands of have been detained

terribly hard. As in other prisons throughout South Vietnam the people in Thu Due prison

the people of the Saigon Government The people took this land for the peasants. To defeat the Saigon Government's savage torture. That is

without trial, The prisoners suffer many kinds of

ment we must distribute their land to the people., The against the authorities

why the prisoners have protested

people in the Saigon Government support the United States, serve the U.S. and oppose the people. As for the tell about the recent

for these savage acts. I would like to

landlords in the liberated areas, they have the right to tortured a woman keep their land * we do not take it,

murder by the Saigon Government of prisoners. On August 16th 1969 the Saigon Administration

This leads me to another aspect, can you tell us something about the character of the NLF? rape her, and

prisoner Dao Thi Bins; they used savage kind of torture against her. After torture Duo Ng Ngoc

of this prison, ordered his cruel agents to

thrust an instrument into her vagino, of course she was unconscious. On the same day the

The National Liberation Front is a front which includes United States and the various tendencies, social strata, peasants and workers, number of women: Drinh students, religious people and businessmen — it is a others. But the United combined front of all these various classes and sections of States and the Saigon Government failed to substantiate their charges because they found no the population with different political parties taking part, ground to try them.

OTHER QUESTIONS

And then they put them back into separate cells — and spirits, but they schemed to use violence to break their

these women protested by going on a hunger strike. They won the sympathy of their friends in the whole prison. It was a real struggle of the women and

Earlier in the press conference other questions were put children in the Thu to Mr. Minh.

Due prison. Then on August 21st 1969 the cruel agents of the puppet administration met at the prison to repress the women prisoners again. A woman aged 42 was killed.

She was arrested on May 25th 1968, as well as a sixteen year old girl. In order to cover their murder, the Saigon administration sent its troops to of South Vietnam should be settled by the South Viet administration sent its troops to seize these two dead bodies. But the women prisoners name people themselves without outside interference. tried to keep these bodies.

The PRG advocates that a Provisional Coalition Government was killed, dies, And in this repression another woman was killed, and they seriously beat another ment should be established through consultations between cripple. Moreover they sent more woman - she's now a persecute other prisoners of war* the political forces representing various tendencies and carried out a strong struggle — they troops to repress and failed to separate them from each other. political circles in South Vietnam, Our policy is for Peace, tion Government will organise elections throughout the country.

On August 22nd 1969, far from meeting the demands from the prisoners, the United States and the Saigon Administration sent more troops and Is the de-Americanisation of the forces in South Vietnam police to launch another

likely at present? campaign of aggression. In this campaign they killed I think that the de-Americanisation or the Vietnamisation another woman. In the morning of August 23rd 1969 they tried to transfer the prisoners into of the war cannot be realized The US puts it this way to so that they could easily repress them, separate small prisons save its face. The reason they cannot realise the de- but the prisoners

Americanisation of the war is that the puppet army cannot
would struggle until their
defend themselves. That is why they invited the G.I.s to
Administration. Hungry
defend them in the first place. So the puppet army sur-
women prisoners — 177
vives because of the presence of the G.I.'s*
killed. The Admini-

stration sent the women to the central prison in Saigon -
the biggest prison in South Vietnam.
As things stand at present, the U.S. doesn't really want to
The women are
withdraw its troops from Vietnam. It took Nixon 3 months
authorities have no grounds
to withdraw 25 000 troops, this shows that he has no desire
to settle the problem.
At this stage Lord Brockway interrupted to say that the
100f000 prisoners
number of deserters and draft resisters in the U.S. has
Green Berets massacre
now risen to ten per cent of the whole of the U.S. forces.
was recently killed
He also felt that exactly the same considerations were now
is an everyday occur-
operating as those at the end of the French occupation.
formerly collaborated
There were some Vietnamese collaborators and military
join our Revolutionary
activity but there had also been a strong anti-war move-

10

= Page 11 =

Ethel (to Keyter -
Executive Sec, A. A. M,

Dogged determination and confidence in final success
won recognition by the
mu&t account far such a consistent and continuing record
right to be heard on
as that of the Anti'Apartheid Movement in Britain. Neither
Where the official South
South Africa's present upsurge of prosperity nor the bitter
hove gone unchallenged
disappointment which the Labour Government has been on
rebuffed.
the issue of South Africa have quelled their voice of protest.
make no secret of their
Not only has Anti-Apartheid continued to be heard but it
A. A. M. entered the
now shows the imagination and ingenuity of a seasoned
goodneighbourliness have
campaigner South Africa's economic buoyancy may make
cricket and rugby teams

refused to go — they said they
demands were met by the Saigon
dogs were sent to terrorise the
women wounded and 4 women were

detained without trial - the
to try them.

As far as we know there are more than
detained in South Vietnam. The
many people. The wife of the man who
by the Green Berets exposed what
rence, That is why many people who
with the Saigon Administration now
Provisional Government,

the Anti-Apartheid Movement have
British press and the B. B, C and the
issues concerning South Africa*
African viewpoint might otherwise
it is countered and effectively
Mr» Vorster and his Government
hatred for Anti-Apartheid. Since the
British scene the halycon days of
gone. The annual exchanges of

British businessmen's eyes sparkle but its envoys, in what to the past. Such tours ever guise they choose, are doomed forever to run the background of the real gauntlet of hostile criticism. as they

Since the Anti-Apartheid Movement was founded the white that sporting tradition is regimes in Southern Africa have consolidated their position. longer be made.

South Africa's policy of imperialist expansion, with ramifications far north of the Zambezi, has made her potential policies. In the field of master of Africa and leader of the Southern Hemisphere. still visit South Africa

In the face of such a danger the liberation struggles of theatre and music, nor

Southern Africa have a crucial significance to Africa and So it has become

the rest of the world. Realising this, the Anti-Apartheid women of con-

Movement now links its activities more directly with these Anti-Apartheid Move-

struggles and to winning public support for them in Britain.

Conferences are held to discuss the issues at stake and exposing and undermining

demonstrations are organised as a show of solidarity, as Anti-Apartheid Move-

well as concrete assistance being given to freedom movements within the British trade

immigrants

In spite of Britain's growing involvement with South Africa, depends on Britain for

the campaign to persuade Britain and other trading partners given to ways of in-

ners to sever relations has not wavered. Annual meetings Whatever the Anti-Apartheid

are held with the national assemblies of both the Labour this drive to strengthen

and Liberal Parties, and good-will tours by South African contribution to its ultimate

businessmen are dogged by demonstrators. Added to this, the continued pressure of intensive lobbying of the press and Parliament has made it impossible for the British Government to escape its responsibilities entirely. The arms embargo is still officially honoured in spite of intensive pressure from South Africa.

Doerat, of

WATCHDOG OF BRITISH CONSCIENCE
Durban for 22 hours

In fact. Anti-Apartheid has become known as the watchdog

between the two countries belong
as do take place day so against the

South Africa where racialist policies dominate sport

do everything else. The pretence

honoured in South Africa can no

Nor is isolation in sport the only

finding it must pay for its apartheid

culture touring companies and artists

but not the great names of world

the great singers and actors and artists.

so cultural backwater because men and

science have heeded the call of the

movement to boycott South Africa,
Constantly seeking out ways of

the vicious system of apartheid, the

movement is making a growing impact

union movement in a bid to forestall potential

to South Africa. South Africa still

most of its immigrants and priority

creasing white immigration.

Movement can do to counteract

white supremacy in South Africa is a

mate downfall.

CONFINED TO A FLAT

A 45 year old bookseller Mr, Abdul Kholik

Durban. so Congressite of long standing, has been confined to his tiny one-roomed flat in

so day on weekdays and only on weekends and holidays. Mr. Docrat will be put out of business by the

of the British conscience on South Africa. Appeasement visitors nor has he bon. He will not be allowed to have

continues, but it is surreptitious, underhand, apologetic. Hjj home consists of o)2 ft

square office with walls lined with books, getting light from

Despite the barrage of propaganda by the South African a 12 ft by 4 ft closed porch where he sleeps. He has

Information Service South Africa has few moral deferents the use of o kitchenette and bathroom on the premises.

besides the local fascists. It is the national days of the liberation movements that are celebrated in Trafalgar Mr. Docrot was banned five years

ago under the Square» The representatives of the South African Govern Suppression of Communism Ad.

This banning order is ment live beleaguered existence behind the dose security due to lapse on October 31 st this

year. a

of South Africa House. No reasons were given for any of the bans.

By their perseverance and diligence, the spokesmen of

11

= Page 12 =

TREASON TRIAL 1956

When o nation comes to look back on its past it is events like the Treason Trial that are seen as exclamation marks in its unfolding history.

On December 5, 1956, one hundred and fifty six leaders of all races were dragged out of their homes in the dawn hours of morning to be flown by military aircraft to Johannesburg on a charge of High Treason. The arrests shocked the country and large crowds of demonstrators flocked to the Court - a barn-like Drill Hall of the military. They blocked the streets in an unprecedented show of solidarity with the leaders on trial. On the 2nd day of the trial massed police launched an unprovoked attack on the crowd, shooting wildly and injuring 27 people. Pandemonium broke out in the court itself as officials and police soon noticed as the sound of firing rose above the roar of the crowd.

Four years of demonstrations

= Page 13 =

A DAY AT THE TREASON TRIAL (20 December, 1956)

By Barry Feinberg

Ten feet tall	uncertain fingers fiddle	astride it
a cage replete	blunt barrels strum	some
strip floors thrust up steel tubes	a curse at kaffir ocean	greys billowing
stretching new wire	bitter conscious of kin	others
rolling in one hundred and fiftysix	safe in shade inside	arse carrying khaki
or thereabouts '	At the gavel	most
constables highbooted and bolstered	quiet wedges quickly in	stump necked
hound round the edge		swollen mastoid propped

	fans now focal points	
facing the fence	as if for takeoff	edging veld- burn hair
raised by brown high boards	piled papers flutter weakly	bellows in rugby
raucous		
sentence makers pear down	quiet continues	masseters mad with bite
pens at ready	the buzz of blades	eyes cracked against the sun
flanked by whirring fans	hogs the hall	eors taut in rein
four blade props	the shots shock in	SKIET DIE DONDEERS!
beating at heat	pneumatic like	SHOOT THE BUGGERS!
	but crisper	solivo spraying
for bade		foreheads crimson
	vibrationfess	
on ochre slatted folding chairs	not loud	veins storting
the anxious and curious cramped	not as imagined or in movies	SKIET HULLE! SKIET
HULLE DOODI		
crane forward sweating	the idea of it	SHOOT THEM! SHOOT THEM
DEAD I		
the caged	harsher	
chameleon like	one s heartbeat	we peering
by sudden won permission	Louder	between tight strung tartan
socks		
show shirtsleeves simultaneously		see burning bladk macadam
loom		
	two hundred temples pounding then	hazed and bubbling
Outside	twin screams O GOD I O GOD!	crisscrossed with tram path
silver		
a sea of heads	a pause then	no spinning tyres treading
lays siege singing	: SHOOTING THEM DOWN I	instead
slogans chanted	THEY'RE SHOOTING THEM	strewn about
hardly heard by prosecutors	DOWN! then	cloth hots handbags
though to those tuned in	another burst ond one more then	torn banners
standing by leaders		
a steady hum inspiring	knuckles bloie on drumming doors	even an umbrella
	no exit knocked aside	ond
breaching the swelling tide	spilling out near dehydrated	shattered among broken
brick crumble		
o buffer of uniformed youths	swallowed up by sun dazzle	here and there
remniscer.t in their fixed eye focus	sam browns hustle	a face
of not long ago oaths	with half an eye	kissing tar to tar
hobbled in block forests	outnumbered	nose askew
and echoed in vast stadiums	turning past a soup delivery	shoulder bundled over
jaw		
	tepid buckets in tow	elbows winged
the gleam of gun slung	a wall slammed shorp against the	hands patm up
stock slid between hip ond elbow	street	fingers curling not quite
clenched,		

\

HIGH

off £150 million and the
Cabora Bassé Dam project
introduction of one million

white settlers the

threatens to become a major

centre of white power in

Southern Africa*

AT

Our correspondent discusses
to the liberation struggle

its strategic significance

and how the scheme will focus

CABORA

all the strands of
confrontation on the region.
imperialist liberation

The massive solidarity actions of the Swedish people and especially of the Swedish youth and students in support of the Southern African freedom struggle are now reverberating throughout the Zambezi Valley and beyond. By forcing the giant Swedish electro-manufacturing combine ASEA to withdraw from the South African-led international construction and financial consortium ZAMCO, these Swedish actions have dealt a serious blow to the Pretoria-Lisbon grand design to construct the Cabora Basso dam and hydroelectric complex in the strategic Tete province of Mozambique,

This project was scheduled to represent the first stage of a larger plan to decisively insulate Mozambique not only from the onslaughts of the African liberation movement but within a tightly closed Southern African economic and political system under the perpetual rule of a white colonialist dictatorship and based on the power of apartheid South Africa. The South African press has described these Swedish actions

as a serious "setback" and a "body blow" to the Cabora Bossa scheme and are now reporting the feverish activities of ZAMCO consortium to find suitable and acceptable substitutes for the Swedish ASEA, with hints that some of Britain's foremost monopoly suppliers of electricity-generating plant are likely to fill the breach. These feverish activities are dictated by the apparent requirement that engineering work at Cabora Bassa should start immediately, i.e. before the November-April rains put the Zambezi in spate.

U

= Page 15 =

STRATEGIC	SIGNIFICANCE	running through Mozambique to the	ocean, of
constructing a major port		Transvaal and ending near Pretoria.	at the mouth of the river, of a
railway			
		and road network into Rhodesia	and Malawi* apart from
7ha strategic conceptions which un-			
Mozambique			
derlie the Cabora Basso scheme are	LEAPING OVER BORDERS		itself, and above
all of settling some			
fully revealed in its location its		one million white immigrants	in
the			
jiie and extended scope, its cost	Thus In terms of electric power plan		region by the
turn of the century.			
ond in the nature of the internatio	ning, the project is considerable		
nal constructions and financial rami	by any international standard, and		The dam was
scheduled to irri			
fications and interests of theZAMCO	certainly out of balance in terms of		gate 3,700,000
acres on which			
consortium, Above all, the extensive	the present or potential state of elec		major
internationally demanded farm			
consultations and the co-operation	tricity demand within Mozambique.		products
would be produced. The			
and agreements reached between	But the fundamental logic of the size		cheapness of
power and the abun			
the regimes of Portugal, South Africa	of the project lies in the unification		dance of water
will enable a steel			
and Rhodesia during the preparatory	and centralisation of electricity and		industry to
develop up to a capacity			
work on the scheme reveals its criti	power supply for a vaster region,		of 5 million tons.
The survey revealed			
cal Importance to all these countries	across boundaries, and further re		the considerable
variety and quantum			
at a time of mounting warfare by the	move, the increased economic inte		of minerals
awaiting exploitation.			
African people in support of their	gration and mutual dependence of		A 12 mile seam
of coking coal was			

freedom struggle. Thus, this scheme there was said to exist signifies, in a sense, the determination of the colonial and apartheid 'significant' authorities in Southern Africa to vanadium. The survey estimates persist to the end in maintaining presence of deposits of their stranglehold over the region, copper, fluorspar, to make no compromise and seek no accommodation with the liberatory survey gives priority the north, Angola and Namibia to the forces, and to sustain this posture by exploitation of the magnetite embroiling more deeply the interests of international capital and Western official Portuguese sponsored imperialism in safeguarding white survey work, the main colonial power in the region. Hence of intention and ambition inspiration behind the recommendation- For this reason alone Sweden's solidarity actions hold an importance and African, The magazine News a significance for Southern Africa's in September, 1966 oppressed people which can neither involvement of the influence be exaggerated nor be over-stressed* Edt of South Africa with been enticed into providing the capital resources necessary. However, Tete province stands at the strategic frequent visits to Lisbon conjunction of three territories which final phases of survey. adjoin Mozambique - Zambia, Rhodesia and Malawi. Through it flows economic architects and the Zambezi River across northern makers, and his thinking Mozambique to the Indian ocean considerable influence in 300 miles away. The river enters of the apartheid Mozambique at a height of 1,000 feet from his vantage position above sea level and drops to 400 feet of the state-run Indu-

the economies within what is called the "zone of influence" of Cabora Bassa. According to Portuguese sources this zone has a radius of almost 1,200 miles which means that territories like Kenya and the Congo to the West and the Cape to the south could ultimately be hooked-up into an integrated power-using region. This certainly is a scale of operation, and hence of intention and ambition inspiration behind the which is dictated by wider and extra-economic considerations ; otherwise, the economic viability of the project would be suspect, and no body of international financiers could have been enticed into providing the capital resources necessary. However, with South Africa centrally concerned with Caboro Bassa and the higher stakes generally involved, viability has been for the moment assured ; hence the pressure to commence engineering works by November this year. Generating electricity is by no means the sole content of the project revealed and a 200 million ton magnetites, containing amounts of estimated the vast amounts of manganese, nickel, asbestos. And the deposits. Despite the sorship of the tions, which South Check revealed the close tial Dr. van the Cabora Bassa project. He rently made during the Dr. van Edt is principal decision- has had the development economy. Now, tion as head

in Tete ; Cabora Bassa is located at Corporation, van the point where the river enters a to have conceived of 60 mile long gorge with steep cliffs on as more than a source either side and the scene of spectacular power for South Africa's lar waterfalls and tumbling rapids. As this magazine

begins to Overseas Affairs, employing the services of South African and other foreign experts, has been surveying the entire region of the lower Zambesi, covering an area of 85,000 square miles and almost one quarter of Mozambique. The work on the survey was expedited in 1964 as a result of the opening up of military operations by the major Mozambique liberation organisations then newly united under FRELIMO-South Africa's agreement to ONE MILLION WHITE IMMIGRANTS enable the power output from Mozambique to reach a massive 45,000 million kwh a year. The first phase of the Caboro Bassa which involves the construction of the main dam and the generating plant is scheduled to be completed at a cost of *360 million thereafter. These South African (*150 million) by 1974, This too would include the erection of the beginnings scheme and hence on

as such, although this carries with it the pretensions of making Cabora Bosso the power-house of southern Africa as a whole. Over the past nine years, the Portuguese Ministry of

Industrial Development Edt is reported Cabora Bassa of cheap developing needs.

puts it, "van Eck's reasoning make meaning scale . ♦ . it southern Africa* and it implies signal contribution looking countries In March authorities national first phases scheme. This of the estimated cost of £150 (of this phase) and next, to 1,000 (when the first ted) rising to 1,800 and commitments viability of the

of Southern Africa-wide grid system, to international com	cultural estates and farms, of making	added incentive
and in particular of transmission lines the tender.	the Zambesi navigable up to the	panies to bid for

ts

= Page 16 =

SOUTH AFRICA TO STEP IN?

The interested companies composed themselves in three consortia, each tendering for the contract Quite remorkobly, South African companies featured in all three consortia — this was interpreted by the London Finan- cidl Times os indicating that South Africa was "politically safe", (app arently in contrast to Portugal and its colonies)» and more so, "that at the first hint of trouble the Vorster government of South Africa is likely to step in to safeguard its own and ineidently Portugal's interests"

However, the predominantly South Africa based consortium was awarded the final contract for the sum of £103.4million, This consortium, the Zambezi Consorio Hidra Electrico or ZAMCO was Initiated and organised by the powerful Anglo-American Corporation ; apart from the South Afri can element, the consortium is sub stantially composed of major West German and Freeh companies and of Security Council resolutions course until recently the Swedish sanctions against Rho ASEA. Anglo-American interest in the consortium is represented by its sub- sidiary, ITA Limiied.

Interrogation

Pre-Completion Finance Facilities ;	the UN
from a banking syndicate led by	imposing full
Union Acceptance (S. Africa) and involving Anglo-American Corpora	desia.
tion and reportedly an American	
SANCTIONS - BUSTiNG	

THE ZAMCO CONSORTIUM

Rhodesia is crucially	Portuguese Contribution : Private	As noted above
loans up to £40 million guaranteed	related to the success of the	
scheme.		
Executive Direction and Co-ordina	by the Portuguese government.	Apart from the
strategic conceptions		
	which underlie the scheme in terms of	
tion : Anglo-American Corporation.	Compared to ZAMCfO with its strong	creating a
more cohesive white		
West German and French compo		

S. Africa; ÍTA Limited (Anglo-American); Shaft Sinkers Ltd. : V,P.C, Ltd. : Powerlines Ltd. almost all the major western imperced stage on the specific issues of

Rhodesian supplies of manpower, food, cement, and other materials

W* Germany : Siemens A.G. ; AEG-Telefuncten A.G- ; Brown, Boveri & Cie Brltish-Italion consortium lended o during the construction stage of the

A.G,, Hochstieg A.G. ; J.M, Voith bid for £104 million while the other scheme.

Furthermore, Rhodesia has GmbH. unsuccessful bidder was composed of or is contracting to absorb some of

United States ond French interests. the power output of Cabora Bassa for

Fiance : Afshtom, Paris ; CCI : Cogellex-GGEE ; Compagnie General d'En- After 1974, And this implies

the construction of transmission lines

terprises Electriques ; Neyrpic (Con other difficulties, ZAMCO was award into Rhodesian territory. The fact that

sultant Engineers) ; Societe General ed the tentative contract in Septem

dElectricite. these negotiations hove reached an advanced stage undoubtedly reflects

ber 1968, Then in Lisbon, the Portuguese the confidence of

Possible participation from Britain : all concerned in the

General Electric Company ; English authorities began to equivocate. scheme, and in particular of the

Electric, It was not clear whether these hesita ZAMCO participating countries that

tions on the port of the new Portu the UN sonctions resolution can be

FINANCING CABORA BA5SA guese leader Caetano (Salazar's defied with little or no consequence.

successor) was a manoeuvre to secure This indeed is suggested by

the con- further concessions from the Vorster siderable interest which the

British

Export Credits from Banks in ; regime, or whether the Portuguese GEC EE companies have been and

West Germany £32 million were becoming really worried about are still showing in the scheme. But

France 231 million Africa's emergence as the de facto the withdrawal of ASEÄ

on the explicit

Italy £20 million power in Mozambique's economic ground thot the scheme possesses

South Africa £12,5 million development and of course in the sanctions-busting features* now impo

territory's security. For a full year, ses on both the governments of

Bonks reportedly concerned - France : Anglo-American lobbied Caetono. France ond West Germany an

Banque de Paris et des Pays Bas. So too did the South African and unavoidable obligation to openly

West Germany : Kreditanstalt fur Wie- Rhodesian governments. Finally on declare whether they support or will

deraufbau. September 3rd, Caetano acceded force their national companies to and signed the final contract with withdraw from the scheme ; in a word, From South African Official Sources : ZAMCO. But by then ASÉA withdrew, whether they intend to abide by or Industrial Development but in doing so ASEA advanced o defy the United Nations, And so as Corporation: £10 million reason which placed the W, German the Economist recently pointed out Escom £22 million and French governments in some 'ZAMCO must now face the risk that South African difficulty and embarrassment. But this other members of the consortium Government 4 Year relates to the likelihood that the could trip over the sanctions hurdles". Loan £10 million Caboro Basso scheme could infringe However, it must be anticipated that

16

= Page 17 =

and Reaction

neither South Africa nor Portugal (and Portuguese defensive line took place population. By the end of 1968, South hence ZAMCO) will be easily dis? about the time when South Africa Africa had committed over one-third and Portugal expedited their survey of its original selective recruitment and plans for the Cabora Basso force in Mozambique, Rhodesia and schemes This certainly became evident Angola. at stake and Mozambique faces im- by 1967. when FRELIMO's forces have some Although the Portuguese entered Tete province, subjecting the bique, equipped minent dangers which from the Pre- Portuguese garrison there to constant Sabre jets 60,000 troops in Mozam? urgent need to commence operations and French manufactured attacks and bringing great insecurity helicopters, it is clear with NATO-provided in Cabora Basso. to the Province's communication tittle confidence in the fighting that Vorster has system, This, too was the stage at city or morale of this force, FREUMO SUCCESSES fruition and South Africa decided to which the Cabora Basso plan reached The main danger is the signal ad? send two battalions into Tete province MORE WHITE FRONTIERSMEN vance of the popular revolution under under the pretext of using the terrain The South African the leadership of FRELIMO in Mo? as training facilities for the rising regime must be

zambique. The adjacent provinces to no matter what military the east of Tete — Cabo Delgado and against the emerging Niasso — are apart from a few towns insurrectionary virtually in the hands of FRELIMO's alone will never be armed forces. In many areas FREUMO meet the challenge to its has set up its own systems of revolutionary administration and government. The example of is too rich to be ment. that South	number of draftees entering the South African armed forces. * southern African	aware that forces it can pit movement, this sufficient to rule or objective. heroic Vietnam ignored. It is in this respect
According to FREUMO's organ, Mozambique Revolution, the past five years of armed struggle has led to its objective to consolidate the steady isolation and decimation of the Portuguese garrisons in these Africa. The Cabora Bassa two provinces; the capital of Niassa been shown to fulfil these is thoroughly blockaded and cannot the most crucial element even get supplies from the air. In undoubtedly the plan Cabo Delgado, as described by FRE-million white settlers JLIMO, "our forces control all the Zambezi by the end main roads, thus isolating enemy garrisons . . . today the armed struggle covers over one third of the territory". good and sound basis	disposition of their main forces and to look at the deeper problem of having to meet a protracted and historic challenge from the African liberation movement A. new defence line was thus conceived to run along the entire length of the lower Zom-bezi and South Africa's two battalions in Tete, in the vicinity of Cabora Basso, provided the necessary support to the Portuguese garrisons for this purpose. The significance of this decision also lay in the opening of	African moving towards tary supports for solidate white Southern scheme has supports. But of the scheme is to settle some one lers in the lower of the century. There exists a
the ANC-ZAPU front in the up^er Africa		for the importance which South
Until 1965 the Portuguese military element authorities concentrated their military Bassa project. Given forces along a line from, Ncala to cheap labour and Mandiba just below the Tanzanian as well as the all-frontier, convinced that this so-called facilities implied in the "defence zone" would be held project, the role of the against the liberation forces then visualised as considered	Zambezi valley in Rhodesia. The gnawing fear of the Vorster regime was the possibility that Tete would be overrun by the guerilla forces, enabling a FRELIMO link-up with the ANC-ZAPU forces and thus	attributes to this white settler in the Cabora the availability of of cheap land, embracing Cahora Bassa white settler is

being regrouped and united under forcing South Africa to defend, in the ably more than
 that of the traditional
 FRELIMO, company of the unreliable Rhodesian pioneer. He becomes a
 frontiersman —
 By the end of 1965 FRELIMO's forces and Portuguese garrisons, a extremely gun in hand
 and prepared to defend
 broke this line to virtually occupy the wide and difficult front stretching the his newly
 acquired privileges. The length of the Zambesi river, and in role of white
 two northern provinces. And It is no settlement in South
 coincidence that the breaking of this the midst of a growing hostile local Africa and
 Rhodesia over the years is

17

= Page 18 =

ral resources and to provide capital
 for the creation of a steel industry.

This growing interest and involvement
 of International capital will in the
 course of time dictate on interests
 and a policy on the Western major
 imperialist countries of safeguarding
 and enforcing the status quo in
 Mozambique, and thus assist South
 Africa in containing the African libera-
 tion challenge.

These then are the terms in which
 Cabora Basso emerges as a compre-
 hensive economic and political device
 to ensure white domination and
 colonialist rule in southern Africa,
 FRELIMO has dedicated itself to the
 destruction of this scheme. It has
 declared the Cabora Basso dam as
 being "aimed at further oppression of
 the people of Mozambique and
 Southern Africa as a whole . . . , it is
 another device being used by capi-
 talism, racism and colonialism in
 Southern Africa." The army of Mozam-
 bique's liberation has been instructed
 to harass and destroy all and every
 phase of the construction - that
 develops in Cabora Basso, and
 ultimately to occupy the Tete pro-
 vince.

Undoubtedly what is now urgently
 required internationally, and espe-
 cially in W, Europa is an extension
 of the successful Swedish people's
 campaign, to mount attacks on the
 combines which have agreed to join
 in the Cabora Basso construction, to

seen as the essential justification for their notion of this approach. The white settler, following the examples of whether he be of European social and European economic drop-out or not, brings with him a consciousness and a heritage central role in capitalism which is substantially founded on the migration of capitalist accumulation material southern Africa. to bring wealth and exploitation. He, the white capital investment and the settler, will import into Mozambique productive resources in what he brought to South Africa in apartheid and Portuguese the high period of Europe's colonial expansion — the interest of defending There is no doubt that Cabora Basso can be the privileges ensuing from the ultimately destroyed colonial subjection of the local African combined power of the can population. And thus in this context peoples' struggle, and ception, a million such defenders not support and solidarity of only strengthen the capitalist-imperialist framework in which Mozambique is destined to develop under South Africa's aegis but creates a formidable front of support for apartheid and colonialism against the forces of African liberation. This is what the Cabora Basso scheme is mainly about. The white settler provides for South Africa and colonialism the long arm of enforcing the policies of apartheid in Mozambique. If taken in conjunction with the Kunene River development scheme in northern Namibia, white settlement emerges as a critical force in South Africa's expansion in southern Africa as a whole.

press the governments concerned to stop this great conspiracy to bring Mozambique under the permanent subjugation of South Africa and Portugal's rule, and to INTERNATIONAL CAPITAL tugal's rule, and to VERSUS LIBERATION FORCES nal companies to of ASEA of Sweden. The solidarity movement with Next, as a factor in giving the Cabora Basso project an extra-economic dimension is the manner in which peoples to some of the world's major monopolies on end to have been enticed into acquiring a flow of interest in perpetuating the political support of status quo in Mozambique. This not colonialism. only relates to the financing of the the plot at Cabora Basso scheme itself but in the thwarted and grant of concessions to international through the corporations for the mining of minerals in Mozambique and the exploitation of Mozambique's natural and labour resources. Europe's A South African mining group has already been granted concessions to mine diamonds, asbestos and manganese ores. The Common Market based Societe des Mineraux and the American Continental Ore Company have been granted concessions to exploit oil deposits and other minerals. Gulf Oil of the United States has received extensive rights to explore Mozambique's oil deposits, With the prospective cheap power supply from Cabora Basso, other international companies based in Britain, West Germany and Japan have shown interest in developing Mozambique's copper, iron and other minerals.

PRIEST KILLED IN DETENTION

The Africon National Congress of South Africa calls the promoting the aims of the attention of the world to the reported death of the Cape Town Moslem religious leader Imam Hadjo Abdullah Haroun while held in detention by the Security Police in terms of the notorious Terrorism Act.

f
Imam Haroun, the editor of the Cape Town newspaper so-called Bureau of

MOSLEM NEWS, was arrested in Cape Town on 28 May during the last session of

this year. He was 41 years old and in good health at offence to possess

time of his arrest. According to a statement made in the to any matter

House of Assembly in Cape Town on 10 June by the The South African

Minister of Police, Mr. S. L. Muller, no charge up till ventilate grievances

then had been preferred against anyone in connection may not, without

with Mr. Haroun's detention. Nor could the Minister say themselves, even refer to a

whether criminal proceedings were contemplated. "This would depend on evidence which came to light in the

terms of this law, to

investigations.¹

The Minister said Mr. Haroun's family were not allowed to visit him; nor was he visited daily by a magistrate; protection or redress

nor was he permitted to get in touch with attorneys. his liberty of the

The Minister said Mr. Haroun had not made any request for reading matter.

num+

statement, be charged with

African National Congress.

A SILENT PRESS

In terms of a law establishing the

State Security (BOSS), passed

the South African Parliament, it is an

or publish any information relating

affecting the security of the State.

press, therefore, has no power to

against the police, or the prison*, and

the permission of the police

prisoner's arrest, let alone his death.

The Government is also able, in

withhold any information concerning security matters from both Parliament and the courts- Thus no South African has any

against any violation of his person or

hands of the Security Police.

The world must come to the aid of those countless

The Minister, in reply to a question, said Mr. Haroun
mercy of the pitiless
had been detained in terms of sections of the Terrorism
African National Congress

Act empowering the arrest without warrant by a senior
these politico!

commissioned police officer of any person believed to
South Africa's jails

be a terrorist or to be withholding from the police in
cease.

information about terrorism or any offences under the
assassins before

act,

further lives are lost,

bers in South Africa who are at the

police of the Vorster regime. The

gress of South Africa demands that

murders which are taking place in

under the protection of the law must

The world must call a halt to Vorster's

LONDON MEMORIAL SERVICE

WHAT IS TERRORISM?

The definition of "terrorism" in the Act is so wide that
Service was held

almost anybody could be brought within its ambit,
President of the

Anyone who as much as "embarrasses the administration
Fund paid his personal

of the affairs of state" is assumed, in terms of the Act.
him as a man of

to have done so with the intention of endangering law
divulge when or

and order*

Unless he can prove that this was not his intention he
humour and deeply

can* on conviction, be sentenced to death,
Haroun will

Mr. Haroun was never brought before any court or
Collins revealed that

charged with any offence. But as a politico prisoner
imam had managed

held incommunicado by the Security Police he was no
read, "Sorry, I left

doubt "interrogated" — a process which in South Africa
my life, but never

can involve the most sadistic and brutal forms of tor-
ture,

Mr. Haroun is the fifth political prisoner this year to
Haroun and said

die while held in detention by South Africa's Security
prison because he

Police. Since detention without trial was introduced in
equality of man. As

South Africa in 1963, a total of at least 14 political
believed in

*prisoners have "died or committed suicide" while held
regardless of colour

in detention in solitary confinement,
observed the

In London where the daughter of the late Imam Haroun

is now resident, a special Memorial

in St. Paul's Cathedral, Canon Collins,

International Defence and Aid

tribute to Imam Haroun referring to

great courage. "You will not ask me to

how I met the Imam/" said Canon Collins, "He was

simple, straightforward, full of

faithful to his beliefs. Men like Abdullah

save the world from itself." Canon

on the 58th day of his detention the

to get a message out of prison. It

my typewriter behind... I will give

will I divulge out the things I know,, ♦*

The First Secretary of the Jordanian Embassy, Mr. M,

Kiloni also paid his respects to Imam

*"He has been tortured to death in

believed in the brotherhood and

a leader of the Muslim faith* Imam Haroun

freedom and Justice for all men

and creed. Only a few hours after he had

Imam Haroun was detained at the same time as about
 taken away to his
 40 or 50 other South Africans in connection with alleged
 that the Forces of
 underground activities. About 30 of them, including Mrs.
 Imam Haroun's high
 Winnie Mandela, wife of ANC leader Nelson Mandela
 martyrs of modern
 who is serving a term of life imprisonment on Robben
 Island, and Miss, Shanti Naidoo, daughter of Mahatma
 the First Secret'
 Gandhi's adopted son, the late Mr. Narainsamy Naidoo,
 an official of the
 and sister of Youth leader Indris Naidoo. who is serving
 of South African
 10 years on Robben Island, will, according to a political

= Page 20 =

con-

A Readers View...
 confrontations

date,

policy

local

savage
 HUM
 followed

both

the

preoccupation

without

Prophet's birthday, the Imam was
 martyrdom in prison," Mr, Kilani said
 Evil and Darkness would never kill
 ideals, and that he had joined the
 history.
 Also in attendance at the service were
 ary of the Embassy of the U.A.R., and
 Hungarian Embassy, A large number
 political exiles were present.

It is now nine years since* the African National Congress

consciously and deliberately set its course on the organisation
 of its forces for revolutionary war. While violent

with Government authority had taken place before that

these were largely local struggles - as in the case of the Panda
 Revolt - they were not the result of an embracing

decision on a national level. A number of these violent

struggles arose out of primarily political campaigns and as
 a spontaneous response of the people to particularly

Since then, there have been numerous acts of sabotage

repression by the police or to some special local situation.
 Violence, as a means, on a national scale» was first put forward
 in 1960,

by the highly significant actions of our guerrilla forces. The
 immediate perspective is for the increase of guerrilla action

in Zimbabwe and within South Africa itself and the entry of the
 centuries-old struggle for national liberation upon its most
 severe though final stage.

Since it is guerrilla warfare that is now on the agenda, attention
 is naturally turned to the countryside and the prospects of
 support among the rural people. But what is to be said of

people in the towns? We ought not to allow our

with guerrilla warfare as usually understood to leave us

South Africa, a sufficiently purposeful strategy in the large-cities of Africa,

WHITES OUTNUMBERED

It has long been recognised that one of South Africa's distinguishing features in the continent of Africa is the large urban African population of profetorions who are oppressed both os workers ond by colour. This large and tough mass of ill-housed,, undernourished and horra&sed townsmen has been growing rapidly in recent years os the industrial boom has unfolded. There are now huge industrial complexes in all the figures of the manufacturing, mining and building industries major cities and extensive Black Towns have grown up to keep them going. The extent of this process can be seen from the where there are now 1,240,000 Africans, 202*000 Coloured people, 41,000 Indians, in comparison with 367r00G whites.

Our people are forced to live in segregated suburbs, providing a constant reminder to White Authority that it is sitting on a powder keg,

efforts Despite the migrotory labour system and Government population to keep Africans constantly on the move, the White Johannesburg is now outnumbered in alt the major cities. In

Discussing various forms of struggle 64 % of the population is Non-White, in Cape Town 62 ® q, m

the writer argues that since South African civil service city Pre? Durban 71 % and even in that notorious

these toria, Whites are now in the minority. .More ond more cities have always been storm centres cities take on a now familiar pattern : a commercial city centre,, an industrial complex, the luxurious white suburbs of resistance, and the crammed crude housing schemes where the white urban struggle tactics can be readily everpresent police patrols watch over the lives of Non-Whites. There, the

integrated into a guerrilla strategy.
because of num

dis-

create

imple-

army of occupation is most evident not only

bers but also because there is not the slightest effort to

guise the naked force which alone keeps the existing authority
in its seat of power. It is also in these townships that everyone
if aware of the almost total inability of the Government to

a machine of stooge bodies from among the oppressed to

ment its hostile alien rule-

A MILITARY TYPE WHITE PRESENCE

find

It would be true to say as a generality, that with the exception
of some rural areas, the Government has been unable to

any method of indirect rule and is obliged to use its own white
personnel to carry out and supervise the daily policing of
a none too cooperative population.

this

It was the final recognition that a military-type presence of
kind could never be abolished by political persuasion or
pressure that brought organised violence to the fore as the
weapon of the African National Congress. This is not to say
that we were pacifists formerly, for the essential character of all
our previous actions was not, in the first instance, based

only

20

= Page 21 =

an a moral appeal but were rather designed to raise protest
the army and police is
to higher levels of militancy preparing the masse* for the next
grip over a whole country
stage. The revolutionary outlook was ever present, seeking for
instance, the occupying army and
forms of struggle which would best mobilize the masses into
only by commando units from
sharper confrontation with a totally unacceptable regime. Yet
groups operating within the
when the transition to overt and organised violence took place
a persisting and many sided
it became very evident that there was a distinct and funda
population as a whole. On the whole,
mental difference between these tactics and the previous ones.
with hostility as an unassimilable

any

Mass protest action is based on a number of considerations;
to strike a blow against his

foreign force (and in South Africa

foreign to us) tried to maintain a

In Nazi occupied Europe for

administration was horrified not

abroad, supported by sabotage

country, but also significant was

civilian resistance from the

the Germans were regarded

foreign body and was treated accordingly. In consequence,

and every opportunity was seized

the mobilization of public pressure on the state, the withdrawal of cooperation, mass disobedience (as in the Defiance Campaign where the police and army stalks as an oppressor bent on

conquering), and the attack on the ruling group politically and Government, forcing compliance ideologically. In contemporary political science it is called non-compliance, about which 'civilian defence' is based on a different approach. It rests on the belief that the most effective way of defeating the enemy is by inflicting heavy destruction on his armies, military equipment, transport system, factories and cities. Its objective is to win power directly.

withholding compliance

OTHER FORMS IN SUPPORT

That our people will increasingly withhold their compliance From the time that the ANC embarked on armed struggle as the primary strategy of our revolution, some commentators have stiffening resistance has been asked whether we have abandoned entirely other forms. The campaigning and grows with our resistance answer must be in the negative- Not only have recent actions of course take many forms. In many capitals of the world shown that 'civilian defence' Denmark and Norway the Nazi methods can be very effective (especially where they combine daily manifestations of resistance various techniques), but our own long traditions of mass action there was the most reluctant and more rich with valuable experience. We have had strikes* active Government employees and boycotts (especially important were the bus boycotts which As a result, in its cumulative turned into daily demonstrations of people's power), demonstrations caused dislocation to the occupying administration, go-slow, pass burning and numerous other actions (in administrative machine of great deal. which violence also featured) which were carried out in the most Denmark, this kind of many-sided, dangerous conditions* and which from time to time brought considerable valuable background for the acts of defiance to the Government and even temporarily immobilised its the sabotage units, while these repressive machine. It may be said that in some of these encouragement to the civil disobedience actions we expected too much from the methods used. It would seem that sometimes we were too speculative in our thinking, saying 'If everyone did so-and-so then we will succeed', say that 'civilian defence' instead of relying on more substantial evidence of our capacity* succeed in changing the fundamental

presence- The parallel with our where the police and army

imposing the authority of an alien compliance to laws which do not have we were not consulted, and for our oppression. Parliament in We want none of it and we resent upon us-

For instance we learn that in forces were faced with stubborn over the smallest issues and desultory performance of duties by the local population as a whole. effect this non-compliance power and harassed his Furthermore, particularly in sullen resistance formed a violence that were carried out by acts in turn reinforced and governed the population* Writers on the resistance in Norway and resistance there did not

We perhaps also failed to take into sufficient consideration that but when was carried out under so repressive a regime it was difficult to coordinate regime's task extremely national actions embracing such far-flung regions in order to deploy substantial resources to develop the kind of unanimity of mind and common purpose Denmark the outbreak of sabotage sufficient to challenge the Government, This does not mean and actually brought about however that the methods of 'civilian defence' were wrong or collaborationist Danish Government. that they ought to be abandoned.

In a discussion of these events Captain Sir Basil Liddel Hart, Confirmation of this view it to be obtained by a study of tech a British expert in military sciences has written; "H I were the niques of struggle used In other countries where an essentially military governor of a country, I would be baffled both by

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= Page 22 =

a policy of total non-cooperation, and by go-slow tactics — especially by the latter, unless, of course, I would induce fairly large numbers of people to inform, In such a position, I would take very drastic action to intimidate people and deter them from resistance. But it might well prove necessary to bring in one's own officials* military and civil, which would place an enormous strain on one's resources; and even that does not work very effectively against polite acquiescence combined with go-slows etc. I do not think there are many means of repression that can be applied effectively against such resistance/'

A SYMPHONY OF BATTLE Imagine, if you can, a community on the edge of a South

African city* it is an established community, and the South Africans in the liberation struggle cannot be so sanguine younger people have been born there. The men work in local industry, the women in as to believe that non-cooperation can be as effective in domestic work in 'white' homes, the children are at a focal South Africa as Liddel-Hart seems to suggest, but the point is school. One Friday night, the children are sent well taken. We are aware of the importance of civilian resistance home from school with a message - the whole town is to be as a necessary complement to the armed struggle and that it ready for 'removal' on Monday morning. No official notice, no time to see one's

Furthermore, as the scope of armed confrontation spreads and employer, say good-bye to one's friends, let alone argue

the enemy is engaged over an ever expanding area in the countryside, the role of the urban people may well* become place is surrounded by crucial. With civilian resistance assuming violent forms, 'Civilian defence' is usually most effective where the population is most dense, and where there is a close contiguity between oppressor and oppressed. This is the situation in our cities at present, and even now our urban people are developing ever new forms of passive and active resistance to authority. Whether it be the technique of "work on without collaboration", go-slows, strikes, or "cold" urban sabotage we can expect that in time a vast army of factory workers, teachers, students and others will join the symphony of battle as it unfolds. That their struggle will harmonise with that of the guerrillas operating in the countryside and later in the cities, is clear from the fundamental similarities to be found in guerrilla warfare and certain techniques of 'civilian defence', Adam Roberts, a political scientist at the London School of Economics, writes:

"In the inequality of weapons, civilian defence most closely resembles guerrilla warfare. Both * ---- methods of resistance involve a broad struggle at many different points, instead of more formal military fronts; both methods are highly political, depending for their success on a considerable degree of motivation in the civilian population and tending to obscure the distinction between combatants and civilians; both methods present peculiarly difficult problems of organisation and leadership and both tend to involve protracted struggles rather than short, decisive confrontations. The multiplicity of actions involved in both guerrilla and non-violent struggle makes the advance what is brought by the formulation of strategy. In these areas more, not less, important, as control of operations by a direct chain of command is so difficult" All this is relevant to our struggle, and one can do no better than quote Liddel Hart to put the whole matter into

with officialdom. Just a message

On Monday come the lorries. The armed police. Those who dare is a "voluntary" removal — they wish. But if they do, they will be State land illegally. There is some detention. Those who still resist, os are piled high upon the lorries, bundled off with the rest of them, fied bewilderment, the adults full at present helpless to express. The lorries drive out of the township, for through the open veld At This is their new 'homeland.' A few proper water supply , . . and there they are

with a few bogs of maize each, and the Ministry of Bantu Administration's good wishes for a

VAST EMPTINESS

The International Defence and Aid is a description of the mass thousands of South Africans from so-called resettlement in the dry there is no work, no sanitation, and often enough no water but water cart. It is a tale of tions, men, women and children, Hitler accustomed Europe a

perspective.

few other parallels in all history.

The South African government talks of removing no fewer than 3,8 million Africans — and that is only the start. Its dependent on the support of the many. Although in itself the most lunatic dream is to remove every one of the 13 million individual form of action, It can only operate effectively, and blade South Africans from 'white' South Africa, herd them into the miserable eighth of the country set aside as masses. That is why it tends to be most effective if it blends an appeal to national resistance or desire for independence with 'bantustans'* and let them out again only as an appeal to social and economic discontent, thus becoming 'migrant' labour, recruited as contract labour to work in white industry, and live as temporary sojourners only in

hostels outside white towns. — much as mine labourers live today, and it is no accident that these are among the lowest paid of all South Africa's exploited workers.

(Footnote: The quotations in this article are derived from Civilian Resistance as a Notional Defence, edited by Adam It sounds like a megalomaniac's dream. Pay no attention, Roberts). so the white industrialists, who don't particularly enjoy

finding their trained machine operators endorsed without warning out of their area — it won't work, it can't work, South Africa's economy is booming, and the Government

We regret that the article "Wankie Encounter" and same won't sacrifice the boom. But the mad projects. In fact going ahead, while white South regular features have had to be held over due to pressure Africo studies its head on space- firmly in the sand.

22

= Page 23 =

RESETTLEMENT - THE NEW VIOLENCE TO AFRICANS

International Defence and Aid pamphlet, price 3/6d

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HUMAN BEINGS WHO ARE SUPERFLUOUS
or voice. His place

is in a cage, the vast concentration camp of the reserves,
The people now being moved fall mainly into three categories*
brought out and put in
gories. The first are residents of so-called 'black spots'»
edge of an industrial
African residential areas enclosed by 'white' areas. By the
end of September 1968 the authorities were reported to
and can be sent back
to the first cage ...
have moved 83,019 people from 119 such 'black-spots' and
a further 280 areas were scheduled for evacuation. The
and lack of tension."
second category is that of so-called 'undesirables,' the
February this year/' then
marked men, political suspects and offenders, former political
can be compared with
political prisoners, and their families. And the third, and
in the end possibly the most significant category, is that
of what the government is pleased to call 'unproductive'
Africans — the unemployed, children, sick and disabled,
people has not been
and the aid. VariousE described as 'Superfluous' (to
though the authorities
what?), and 'not economically active', these people are
near to report their
being thrown upon the rubbish heap because they are
the story of the Baku-
not making profits for the white man.
village near

Officials make no bones about it As the Deputy Minister
had been their home
for Bantu Administration and Development put it in the
demolished, by way of in
House of Assembly in June 1968:
November 1967,

"Must these people who are not employed or who are
sentenced for occupying
pensioners or who are living on charity or who are loafers
they refused to move.
be allowed to live in accommodation here. (i.e. in the
appeal, on condition
urban areas) which the taxpayer of South Africa has to
Bakubung set tight, more
provide and subsidise?"
for evaluation-

Or, as Mr* Froneman, Deputy Chairman of the Bantu
On 12th January 1969,
Affairs Commission, argued;
police cells
"We resettle many elderly people. If they do nothing in
the white homeland, they may as well do nothing in the

slave, as work-object, without feeling,

until he is needed, then he is to be

another cage, workers' hostel on the

area, until he is needed no more,

"When it comes to peace and order

Mr* Vorster declared blandly in

there is hardly any country which

South Africa.

Hardly any country, Indeed,
The miracle is, that the spirit of the

broken. They continue to resist,

make sure that there is seldom anyone

resistance. But the pamphlet tells

about people, who were ordered to leave their

Rustenburg in the Transvaal, that

for 74 years. Their school was

ducement to leave. They still refused. In

88 people were charged and

State land without permission. Still

Their sentences were suspended on

they consented to go. Still the

were prosecuted in 1968, and a new deadline

evacuation was set for December 31st.

200 more were rounded up, and thrown into

at Rustenburg ...

Bantu homeland , . . There are many Bantu children who revolutionaries in this little do nothing. They simply stay with their mother or with their of people who know grandmother or whoever it may be. They do not work at the police is pitted oil. .

A SYSTEM OF CAGES

no-

South African government officials don't bother any more pamphlet shows, moves by to disguise their purpose for the black man, his role as R. A.

Here, then, is the moral for pamphlet — the stubborn courage that the full might of the law and against them, yet still resist. By depriving such people of any stake in society as it is, the Government is in the end blindly ensuring its own destruction, for it is creating a

larger and larger reservoir of men and women with

thing to lose* History, as this painful processes.

Umefilf .

impossible to get work or grow food

23

= Page 24 =

JOIN THE STRUGGLE FOR FREEDOM!

FORWARD TO 19701

SECHABA NEEDS YOU.

* To sell our journal at meetings, demonstrations and on the campuses;
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* To win new subscribers:
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the world. Many of our readers have commented that the content of our journal has steadily improved and we have proof of this in the fact that Sechaba is now ABOVE ALL WE NEED FUNDS.
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* To promote sales;
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All cheques/Postal Orders should be

SECHABA and crossed*
M.P. NAICKER
Director of Publicity Information.

&
African National Congress of South Africa,

FAMILIES Four African Families with 14 children among them, one living in an "oil drum laager" in the middle of the desert

LIVING destroyed shanty town near Nancefield Cemetery in Soweto, They claimed they were left there when other families

IN OIL were rehoused either in Soweto or in the homelands after the squalid shantytown was pulled down last month. The

and

Mrs. Josiah Mali, with four children; Mrs* Queerie Makhany, who has six children;

families are those of Mr*

DRUMS MfjH Colleen Shabangu, with four children; and Mr. and Mrs. E. Dube, who have two children.

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