

Sechabaa



Official Organ
of the African National Congress
of South Africa

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"WE WILL FIGHT SIDE BY SIDE, THROUGHOUT OUR LIVES, UNTIL WE HAVE WON OUR LIBERTY"

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No permission is required to reprint any article. It would be appreciated however if the source is acknowledged. Please send a copy of any material used to the Editor. We regret the omission of 'Life Under Apartheid' in this issue due to lack of space.

EDITOR'S NOTE

With the beginning of armed conflict between the forces of democracy led by the ZAPU-ANC military alliance, and the forces of terror and fascism in Rhodesia and South Africa, events and articles published in our journal are often dated. There are two main reasons for this. One, we are a monthly and by the very nature of the events taking place on our sub-continent it is impossible to keep abreast of events as they arise. Secondly and more important, our printing deadline is between six and eight weeks before each issue reaches our readers. This is due in the main to rising financial and organizational difficulties, and to the fact that many of our writers are either in the front lines of battle or are engaged in a number of urgent tasks connected with the new revolutionary situation that has arisen.

In order to solve some of the problems that have arisen we have decided to publish, whenever the need demands, special cyclostyled supplementary issues to be included with our normal publication.

This in turn creates new problems. Our costs rise steeply with each supplement published apart from the fact that extra assistance has to be organized for the preparation and printing of the supplements. For instance, the special supplement on the death of our beloved President-General, Chief Albert John Lutuli, cost us upwards of £300. Apart from the printing costs, postage costs rose steeply because of the extra weight.

However, as we have previously pointed out, ours is not a commercial venture. Our object is to keep the world at large informed on events in our country. In the words of our Deputy-President, Oliver Tambo: "Sechaba is a vehicle of truth the racists will not tell". We who work on Sechaba have made this our watchword.

As the mouthpiece of the poor, unlike our exploiters who have unlimited funds and who can count on the almost unqualified support of the Western press, we depend entirely on our friends, who are many, to help us to continue with our important task.

We count you among those of our friends and urge you to:

- * Increase our circulation in every possible way;
- * Contribute and collect funds from among your friends and fellow-workers, so that we may continue to ensure informed support for our struggle in all its unfolding phases.

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All postal orders and cheques should be made payable to 'Sechaba' and crossed.

Sechaba, 49 Rathbone Street, London W. 1



A group of Frelimo freedom-fighters, somewhere in Mozambique

CONFRONTATION! THE BATTLE LINES ARE DRAWN UP!

We have embarked on the final stage of our struggle. In Southern Africa today two forces confront each other. On one side are the freedom-fighters, spearhead of the vast masses of the oppressed. On the other are the armies and police of the white minorities, driven into a desperate *laager* alliance to hold back the course of history. As the highly trained and dedicated fighters of the ANC-ZAPU alliance move into successful action, *it is war!* War between the African people and the racist oppressors. War to the end — and the only end will be the achievement of our freedom. *Sechaba* has traced in previous issues the history of our movement in South Africa and has shown the stages by which the

present situation has been reached : a situation in which the only logical, the only practical, the only correct, the only possible development is armed conflict. Now that this conflict has emerged into the open, a brief recapitulation of its historical necessity and context seems valuable. For a detailed treatment of this background, see our September and October issues.

TEMPORARILY DEFEATED

In the wars against the colonising invaders (Boer and British) in the last century we were eventually, though temporarily, defeated. Tribal divisions between the people prevented our

forces from achieving that national unity which is the only basis for the overthrow of a colonial power. Since those days, that unity has been forged over years of organization, education and experience in the political sphere. No tribal divisions now separate our people. The roots of co-operation in action go too deep.

For many years our movement devoted itself to advance through 'legal' means. Ever since the foundation of the ANC in 1912, we have been engaged in building up our political organizations and trade unions, in educating our people practically and theoretically, in defying unjust laws through strikes, campaigns and protests. And we have gone from strength to strength, ever gaining in popular support and producing leaders and political workers of the highest calibre.

PERSECUTION

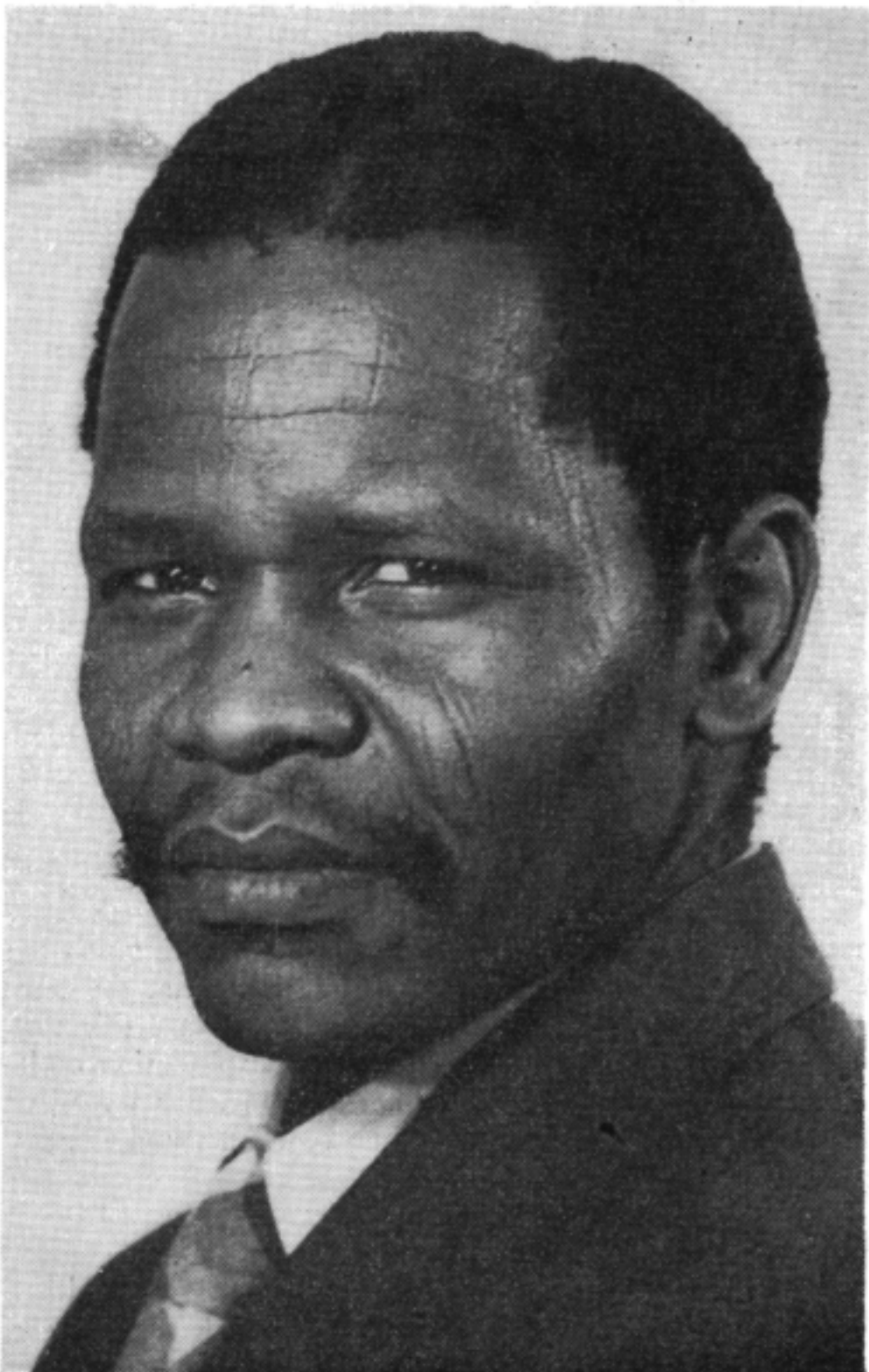
However, especially since the coming to power of the Nationalist Government in 1948, all our peaceful and reasonable approaches have been greeted with ever-increasing hostility, ever more naked persecution and oppression.

We have been tried for treason and when acquitted, arrested on other charges.

We have been imprisoned without trial.

We have been imprisoned for life, tortured to death and 'judicially' murdered by hanging.

Oliver Tambo



We have been beaten and bullied. We have been treated as foreigners in our own country. We have been condemned to life in the service of the white man. We have been driven out of our homes. Our parents and children have been driven to starve in remote rural areas. We have been made the wretched of the earth.

We shall endure this no more!

With the banning of our ANC in 1961 we came to realise that all avenues of 'legal' action had been closed. *Umkhonto We Sizwe* was formed (Spear of the Nation). Even then, our programme of sabotage was restricted. We carefully avoided risk to human life. The result was torture, imprisonment and murder of our leaders. Now, the final confrontation has come.

ZIMBABWE FIGHTS

In the neighbouring territory of Rhodesia (Zimbabwe), our fellow Africans' peaceful demands have been met with equal insolence. The white settlers have seized illegal power and the British authorities have sold out to them. In this situation, who are the terrorists? We affirm with utter confidence that the terrorists are the illegal regime and its supporters. We can see no grounds on which this argument can be contradicted. Nor can we see any grounds on which it can be denied that the South African forces currently

Joshua Nkomo



invading a 'British Possession' to help Smith are also terrorists. We cannot feel that the cautious British note of 14 September is a sufficient acknowledgement of this. The time has come when the oppressed peoples of Southern Africa have joined together in a rightful alliance. (The first official text of this historical alliance between the fighting people of Zimbabwe and South Africa is re-printed on the right.)

EXPANDING UNITY

This alliance is not the final document in the alliance of the African peoples oppressed in the South. 37 freedom fighters from South West Africa (Namibia) are currently being tried illegally in South Africa.

In Angola and Mozambique, the battle against the brutal Portuguese colonists inflicts ever-increasing military and economic damage. In a previous issue we quoted FRELIMO President Eduardo Mondlane's statement to the UN Seminar in Lusaka to the effect that the common enemy is a single imperialism, solely devoted to the interests of the white man, whether he be Portuguese, Boer or British.

We now foresee the day, in the near future, when all the peoples of Southern Africa will unite in a single implacable alliance against the common foe; and we get powerful confirmation of this from the resolutions raised at the recent crucial OAU meeting in Kinshasa.

WHITE LAAGER

Vorster himself confirms our view. Avoiding the specific issue of a white fascist pact, he declares: "We are good friends with Portugal and Rhodesia and good friends do not need a pact. Good friends know what their duty is if a neighbour's house is on fire."

A laager is a defence. Let us always remember that. From now on, the white oppressors are truly in a laager.

Provoked beyond endurance, it is now we who attack.

It is time for white men in Southern Africa to stand up and be counted. Already among those who pay lip service to 'African advancement', many have ranged themselves in the enemy camp. The 'liberal' English-language press of South Africa refers to "vile gangs of terrorists". The 'Progressive' Party of South Africa declares itself "behind the Government". Its sole parliamentary representative, Mrs Suzman, claims to be spokesman for the "voiceless Africans millions". Let this be clear: she is not our spokesman and (except in the white man's meaningless parliament) we are not voiceless. (*Elsewhere in this issue we deal with the Progressive Party attack on our freedom-fighters — Editor.*)

We of the ANC have always declared ourselves strong opponents of racialism. We recognise the dangers of the present situation leading to a race war. This contingency can only be avoided if white Southern Africans declare their support for us now — or, at the very least, refrain from giving their backing to our declared enemies. On their decision depends their future, not ours.

For not only the vanguard of freedom-fighters but the whole people are on the move. The recent wave of demonstrations, leaflets, protests greeting the funeral of our late and honoured Chief, are but one sign of this.

As our spearhead drives ever deeper into enemy territory, we shall be joined not by a few but by the whole African nation.

AMANDLA NGAWETHU ! MAATLA KE A RONA !

ANC ZAPU ALLIANCE

The announcement of the historical military alliance between the fighting forces of the ANC and of ZAPU is re-printed in Sechaba as a record for posterity. The announcement was made in a press release signed by O.R. Tambo, Deputy-President of the African National Congress of South Africa, and J.R.D. Chikerema, Vice-President of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, on 19 August 1967.

"Furious fighting has been and is still taking place in various parts of Southern Rhodesia.

"From the thirteenth of this month, the area of Wankie has been the scene of the most daring battles ever fought between Freedom Fighters and the White oppressor's army in Rhodesia. Only last night the Rhodesian regime admitted having been engaged in a six-hour battle yesterday. In fact, the fighting in this area has been going on continuously for a full six days.

"Both the Rhodesian and the South African regimes have admitted that South African Freedom Fighters belonging to the African National Congress have been involved in these courageous battles, fighting their way to strike at the Boers themselves in South Africa.

"We wish to declare here that the fighting that is presently going on in the Wankie area is indeed being carried out by a combined force of ZAPU and ANC which marched into the country as comrades-in-arms on a common route, each bound to its destination. It is the determination of these combined forces to fight the common settler enemy to the finish, at any point of encounter as they make their way to their respective fighting zones.

"In the fighting Front, the enemy has suffered untold casualties and as the fighting continues, the Fighters are determined to inflict more harm without surrender. After all, as comrades-in-arms, we are facing a common enemy, fighting for a common purpose, facing a common fate, hence a combined force for a common onslaught against the enemy at every point of encounter as we march down for the liberation of our respective countries."

From The Front:

FIERCE FIGHTING OVER EXTENDED FRONT AS ANC-ZAPU GUERRILLAS PRESS HOME ATTACK

A picture of intensive warfare over a wide area emerges as ANC-ZAPU forces extend their determined attack. There are reports of action in the Zambesi River Valley, Northern Matabeleland, Bulawayo, the Wankie Game Reserve and the whole area between Victoria Falls and the Kariba Dam. Enemy sources admit that freedom-fighters may have already crossed the frontier into South Africa itself. Umkhonto We Sizwe sources neither confirm nor deny this admission.

JET PLANES USED

North of Bulawayo, Rhodesian and South African Air Force units of jet planes had to be brought in to support ground troops and police in an engagement which, even according to enemy sources, resulted in few guerilla casualties.

In the conflict at Tjolutjo, where 200 guerillas launched an attack which engaged enemy forces for over 48 hours, a special detachment of South African police had to be flown into Bulawayo to assist the hard-pressed Rhodesian forces with whom South African officers and men were 'training'. No details were given of a further clash which was described by enemy sources as a 'pitched battle with a new band of insurgents'.



HELICOPTERS SHOT DOWN

In an action in the Wankie area, our guerillas shot down three helicopters bringing in reinforcements. Two of these are reported to be South African which with their markings painted out and their crews wearing Rhodesian uniforms, have been sent to the aid of the Smith regime. Reports that three further helicopters have since been brought down have not been confirmed at the time of going to press.

In a series of skilfully planned ambushes, security forces trailing the guerillas have found themselves in the midst of a hail of bullets. In other instances the guerillas have pounced unexpectedly on units of security forces camping in the bush. They have fought stubbornly, sometimes for upwards of six hours, until the fall of darkness when they have moved away to prepare for renewed attack.

ENEMY DEATH TOLL MOUNTS

Within the first few days of battle 54 enemy soldiers were killed in separate actions in the Wankie area. Later, 14 enemy troops were killed when a light Rhodesian transport plane was shot down. The wreckage of the plane is still at the scene of the crash, at Matetsi, some 15 to 20 miles outside Wankie.

In the joint ZAPU-ANC action between Mpindo and Tjolutjo 90 miles west of Bulawayo, 27 enemy soldiers were killed.

The number of enemy troops injured is not available but it is known that all civilian patients at St Mary's Hospital (Wankie District) have been transferred to Mpilo Hospital in Bulawayo to make room for wounded enemy soldiers. The capacity at St Mary's is about 200 beds. A new army camp has also been established at St Mary's. Compound No. 3 at Wankie Colliery has been converted into an army barracks. White farmers have abandoned their farms.

In an attempt to exaggerate the number of our casualties, white authorities told staff at the Bulawayo Hospital that a large number of wounded soldiers there were 'terrorists'. The trick misfired. Why were these so-called terrorists not placed under police guard? Why did they receive a special diet, including fruit, not given to ordinary African patients. Why were they receiving friendly visits from police and *askaris*? Soon the word had spread that the 'terrorists' were in fact wounded members of the Rhodesian African Rifles.

ENTRENCHED GUERRILLAS

A report by the Rhodesian Defence Council — the Chiefs of Staffs of the Army, Air force, Police and top regime officials — admitted their forces had not been able to dislodge 'entrenched' guerillas in the Western Matabeleland area.

They claimed there was evidence that guerillas left deliberate tracks in the bush to lead pursuing forces into ambush — apparently they were surprised by these skilled tactics.

So desperate was the Defence Council to explain away the successes of our freedom-fighters that they declared that the guerillas were "believed to be using drugs"; a statement intended to be interpreted in two equally misleading ways. More sophisticated readers were meant to attribute the strength of our fighters to artificial stimulants, less sophisticated ones to assume that they were using witchcraft.

PANIC REACTION

Such pathetic attempts to explain their failures are sure signs of panic on the part of the white regimes — as are Minister Botha's and General Keevy's repeated specific appeals to the South African white population "not to panic".

The illegal Rhodesian legislature has rushed through a fierce anti-freedomfighter law, closely modelled on the South African Terrorism Act but even more ferocious in that it embodies a mandatory hanging clause.

On the military front, apart from the influx of South African forces, Rhodesian white National Servicemen due to finish their training are being kept on for an indefinite 'further period'. Reserves have been called up and servicemen's leaves have been cancelled. Can it be doubted that the enemy forces have already found that they have bitten off more than they can chew?

(continued over)

"YOUNG AFRICA" SUPPORTS ZAPU-ANC ALLIANCE

In an article headed 'Unity Recovered', Mario Sampaio, writing in the influential French African magazine, states:

"Good news from Africa. The Zimbabwe African People's Union, militant Rhodesian organization, and the African National Congress of South Africa have just published a communique jointly, where we read: 'We declare that the fight is now led by the combined forces ZAPU and the ANC who have penetrated into Rhodesia as comrades-in-arms. We are determined to fight to the end our common enemy, colonialism...'

"When in February 1961 the prison of Luanda in Angola was attacked by Angolan demonstrators and the first victims fell under colonialist bullets, nobody could doubt that the death-knell was ringing for the same colonialists. More than a riot, it was part of an historical process which had been set in motion. But as the years went by frustration replaced hope, dissension replaced unity.

"Now for the first time we have two organizations, not from one country but from two separate ones, who link arms to face and defeat a common enemy. This link-up is most encouraging. During the past week, the region of the Wankie Game Reserve in the north-west of Rhodesia has been the theatre of bloody battles between militant groups of ZAPU-ANC and the Rhodesian forces aided by military 'advisers' from South Africa. The Smith regime threw into the battle important military units, Air force jets, tanks and helicopters. Losses must have been heavy on both sides.

"This second phase of anti-colonialist struggle in Rhodesia raises two very important questions.

"There is no doubt that the governments of Rhodesia, South Africa and Portugal will react to the threat they have to face in the intensification of guerilla activities from bases in Zambia. Sanctions and restrictions on the right of transit for Zambian products will be introduced by these authorities, who control Zambia's main routes of access to the sea.

"We believe, and this is the main point to remember, that the time has come for African nations and for the Socialist countries to re-think their attitude towards the nationalist movements of Portuguese Africa, Rhodesia and South Africa. The anti-colonialist movements require concrete and effective aid in all sectors. They are busy proving that they deserve it."

PUPPETS LOSING MORALE

The move to panic is reflected clearly in the changing character of Rhodesian and South African press and radio coverage of the war. At first 'everything was under control' by the whiteman-boss; the guerillas were being 'mopped-up', killed and captured; others were surrendering. But soon it became clear (from the fact that the oppressors could produce no evidence of 'mopping-up') that admissions that the situation was serious must be made — however grudgingly.

Initial statements of their own casualties stated '2 Africans dead, 3 white soldiers injured', and so on. The position has now been reached in which they list only the white losses without mentioning the race. Thus when a typical report states that in an engagement "the Rhodesian forces suffered six dead and 12 wounded", the numbers of African 'puppet' casualties are being entirely ignored.

As these African casualties increase, morale among the 'puppet' troops sinks lower. And resentment is widespread at the white Rhodesian practice, when tracking guerillas, of sending the Africans ahead to draw the fire.

FALSE PUBLICITY

Reporting our casualties, the highest total claimed by the enemy: "23 killed and many wounded". It is believed that this total is greatly exaggerated — as are reports of captures.

A great deal of publicity was given to the 20-year sentence passed by the regime's court in Salisbury on 8 alleged "captured nationalists". It was said that the judge debarred the press and radio from reporting the names of the alleged nationalists, when, where and how they were captured. In fact these 8 brave men were internal opponents of the regime and not members of the guerilla forces at all.

As General Keevy offers blood-money to farmers in the Northern Transvaal for the capture of terrorists "dead or alive", we realise that the struggle is on the borders of South Africa itself. By the time this issue of *Sechaba* goes to press, there will undoubtedly be fresh news from the front, which we hope to include in supplementary or Stop Press form. We wait for this news in the confidence that the success of our initial strategies has been most strongly demonstrated.



**TENNYSON XOLA MAKIWANE,
CHIEF REPRESENTATIVE
OF THE AFRICAN NATIONAL
CONGRESS OF S. AFRICA
IN ZAMBIA, EXPOSES THE
LYING
PROPAGANDA
BY THE SMITH REGIME,
THAT BRITAIN ENCOURAGES
ANC FREEDOM-FIGHTERS**

"The African National Congress (S.A.) rejects with contempt and indignation allegations made by the Rhodesian rebel regime recently, that the ANC Freedom Fighters are somehow encouraged to fight by Britain. On the contrary, the ANC considers this an appropriate time to remind the world that the present misery and suffering of the Africans in South Africa is as a result of the betrayal of African freedom aspirations when in 1910 the British Government handed over power to the white minority. We see the same betrayal of the African people by Great Britain in the case of Rhodesia today. Had Great Britain laid the foundations of democracy and non-racialism in South Africa, we would not be compelled to wage a war of liberation such as has been forced upon us.

As we have already stated, the African National Congress and the Zimbabwe African People's Union have sealed with the blood of its noblest members an alliance forged in the interest of African Solidarity and the freedom of our respective countries. Such unity became inevitable and indeed imperative when it became clear that the white minority oppressive regimes of South Africa and Rhodesia were acting in concert to

subvert the cause of African freedom.

In the political arena the South African regime had already exported apartheid to Zimbabwe. In the economic field the South African regime gave the Smith rebels a huge loan to bolster their tottering economy. South Africa went further and actively sabotaged the United Nations decision imposing sanctions on the rebel colony. South African police and military units have been stationed in Rhodesia since the declaration of UDI.

The cheap propaganda line of the rebel authorities is to play down the fact that the African masses of Zimbabwe led by ZAPU have risen against the regime.

In recent times Rhodesian security forces have arrested scores of South African freedom fighters who were on their way to fight apartheid in South Africa. These freedom-fighters are now serving long-term sentences in the South African jails.

The African National Congress is proud of the fact that its militants in the course of their historic mission to liberate South Africa, have severely punished Smith's forces who have been the running dogs of the South African apartheid regime."

NEGRO SUPPORT FOR A.N.C.

Copy of a circular supporting the ANC, which was widely distributed in the USA, containing a message from H. RAP BROWN, Chairman of the Student Nonviolent Coordinating Committee (Snick)

Dear Brothers and Sisters in Black communities throughout the United States,

Our brothers and sisters in South Africa have launched an armed revolutionary struggle against the fascist, illegal white governments of Rhodesia and South Africa. In Rhodesia some 250,000 whites are suppressing the rights of 4 million blacks. In South Africa for over 50 years some 2—3 million whites have brutally suppressed the right of self-determination of the African majority. But the revolutionary armed struggle has begun and we shall win.

The hour has come when we must support our blood brothers. We cannot sit back and wait until the United States has sent troops to Rhodesia and South Africa. Already in South Africa it is the heavy investment of United States capital that makes this regime stay in power.

You must help !

You must help now !

We cannot wait !

Educate yourself about the nature of the involvement of the United States and other Western Powers in helping to maintain racism, colonialism and apartheid in South Africa. Organise yourselves as a Committee of One to educate your neighbours about the nature of the struggle and what they must do now to help the armed struggle in South Africa. Brothers, we cannot wait, for the struggle will be long and bitter and we must begin to help now.

Collect and send money immediately to : Oliver Tambo, President, African National Congress, P.O. Box 2239, Dar Es Salaam, Tanzania. You must send money quickly.

Collect and send medical supplies to President Tambo at the same address. Do it now !

On August 27, 1967, we sent a letter to Oliver Tambo pledging our moral support and other help as the liberation movements ask for it.

In our letter we also stated that : "In the United States we are this day, Sunday, the 27th of August, 1967, calling on black people not to buy new General Motors cars for the

year 1968. We are fully aware that General Motors is a heavy investor in South Africa and the profits from exploited labour of our brothers in South Africa makes this company even richer..."

Remember that the struggle against racism, colonialism and apartheid is an indivisible struggle. Armed revolutionary action is occurring throughout Southern Africa — Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, South Africa and South West Africa. This issue will soon be brought before the Security Council of the United Nations and even the General Assembly. Do not stand aloof from the debates. Dress in your national African dress, go to the United Nations, hear and participate in the discussions. Too long we as Africans in the United States have failed to show solidarity with our African brothers on the continent. We the Overseas Africans must realise that we can do something and our presence at the United Nations is an expression of solidarity which is important for the morale of the brothers fighting the guerilla war in Southern Africa.

If you are in school, stay there and learn industrial skills that are needed in African countries and will be needed once the liberation of Southern Africa has been accomplished. If you are out of school, get back in and learn the sciences, learn engineering, learn medicine. Africa needs technical help and we must use this white man's schools to help our brothers in Africa, when they ask for us. We must be prepared. There is some meaning to our lives when we realise that we can today go back to Africa.

Prepare yourselves psychologically for the day when we may all have to go fight in South Africa, for the apartheid system is so vicious — and is backed by all the Western Powers, especially the United States — that those of us who have been trained to fight in Vietnam, for example, and do not want to fight and live in this country may very soon have to form a BLACK INTERNATIONAL AND RETURN TO AFRICA TO FIGHT OR DIE FOR THE LIBERATION OF THE MOTHER COUNTRY. AFRICA IS OUR HOME.

ONE AFRICA, ONE PEOPLE.

This article translated from French is an edited version of a speech made to the Anti-Apartheid Movement of France by JACQUES DELARUE, Author of a "History of the Gestapo" and member of the Committee of Experts Against the Re-birth of Nazism



RE-BIRTH OF NAZISM

The African National Congress regards the conclusions drawn by this expert as further evidence that the struggle now being waged by the joint forces of ZAPU and the ANC is not only a local liberation struggle, but a part of the international struggle against fascism and nazism.

"I am not a specialist on Africa. I am a specialist on Nazism. For twenty years I have dedicated myself to the study of the Nazi phenomenon in Germany : how it was born and how it was able to prosper in a country with an old culture, a great civilization; it is precisely this study which led me to involve myself in examining attempts at a re-birth of Nazism, through which the necessity to interest myself in South Africa came about quite naturally.

For some time all those who have attentively followed the evolution of neo-Nazi movements in Europe, and especially in France, have concluded that closer and closer links are being established between these groups and the countries of Southern Africa; namely, the Republic of South Africa, Rhodesia, and Portugal as far as this concerns the presence of Portugal in Southern Africa. These links manifest themselves in many forms, and above all in the form of a sustained propaganda campaign in the publications of the neo-Nazi movements, and also in the form of frequent trips made to South Africa by some of their members (in particular former collaborators and Nazis). We must ask ourselves about the significance of these ties with regard to the eventual support given by South Africa to these movements, and the repercussions which that could have for our countries.

LOGIC BEHIND APARTHEID

There is nothing astonishing about these links. One must consider the situation in South Africa ... It is really an impossible enterprise to keep the major part of the population of the country without any liberty ... If one considers the very weak white minority in an African environment, not only within the country but also in the neighbouring countries, one sees that to maintain their regime, Nazism was obligatory.

Let us consider the innumerable bans on Africans moving from place to place, lack of choice with regard to accommodation and employment ... if the Africans opposed the system with simple civil disobedience, it would be materially impossible for 3½ million individuals to put 13 million in prison and keep them there !

To make such civil disobedience possible requires a not very great deal of organization, information and trade union organization. The aim of the overlords therefore is to avoid such organization at all cost. One must avoid it being taken into hand not only by African leaders but also by white liberals and democrats. Therefore a political system must be established which forbids any kind of free political discussion, any form of political organization of parties, meetings and publications. It is therefore obligatory to create Nazism. It is only this form of absolute domination, not only over the Africans but over the entire population, which can assure the survival of the system — this odious system which is nothing but a desperate attempt to put off the inevitable moment when the evolution of populations and the demographic progress of the African people will blow the lid off the kettle.

REGIME OF TERROR

It should be known as well that an important number of white South Africans are absolutely opposed to the system of apartheid. And the Nazi regime which rules at this moment in South Africa and which makes of that country an almost exact reproduction of what Germany was in 1934, has exercised more and more serious sanctions against them, thanks to a series of laws elaborated by a gentlemen of whom I will speak later and who is at present the Prime Minister of South Africa.

I can tell you that there are at this moment behind bars for 'crimes' against apartheid, nine thousand three hundred and fifty-two people; under house arrest there are 366; 355 also undergo harsh restrictions on their liberty to move about, and 289 have to report daily to the police. Among these are a number of whites.

How did this regime of terror instal itself in South Africa ?

CONVICT NO. 2229

Dr Malan became leader of the Nationalist Party, and a little while later this party absorbed the Afrikaner Party, which included among its militants Mr Balthazar Vorster. He was no newcomer in politics : he was a lawyer born in 1915 whose opinions had led him to become the general, from 1938, of a Nazi-type organization, the Ossewa-Brandwag, which constituted violent action groups (Stormjaers); these recalled the SA and carried out above all at that time anti-Semitic action.

During the last world war South Africa as a member of the Commonwealth



found itself in an important position in the struggle against Nazi Germany; the Ossewa-Brandwag gave help to the Hitlerites to the extent that General Smuts found himself obliged to take measures against its leaders. Thus it was that Mr Vorster found himself interned for two years, from 1942 to 1944, in the Koffiefontein camp. He was convicted number 2229. After the war most of the members of his party rallied to the Afrikaner Party which was itself absorbed in 1948 by the Nationalist Party. This group of pretty hardened neo-nazis very rapidly took over the important posts.

In 1958 Mr Vorster was introduced into the Cabinet and in 1961 became the Minister of Justice. His opinions had not changed and it was he who became the man of repression, especially from 1961 when South Africa underwent a period of trouble. As Minister of Justice, he has (as is the South African concept) full powers over police services. To him we owe the elaboration of the laws which have progressively reduced the rights of the Africans. He also organised repression against white groups hostile to apartheid. Finally, he has become the Prime Minister of South Africa.

So we see a hard-core Nazi at the head of the South African state; in these conditions, one cannot hope for a softening of the situation.

THE ELITE

Moreover, there exist in South Africa today a certain number of neo-Nazi movements. One of them, the Broederbond, has only 14,000 members, because it only wants to recruit "the elite". It is worth noting that 80% of the depu-

ties of Vorster's Nationalist Party belong to the Broederbond, which is led by a former member of the Nazi party, named Meyer. Meyer is at the same time head of the South African Broadcasting Corporation, that is to say, it is he who governs South African radio. This Mr Meyer has a son whom he has baptized Izan, a name which does not exist anywhere. If you spell it backwards you have the word Nazi. This should give you an idea of the type of personality.

There is also another organization led by a former German Nazi officer, who has re-grouped round himself quite an important collection of former German military men and Nazis who took refuge in South Africa just after the war, as well as a large number of neo-Nazis.

DEFENCE OF THE WHITE MAN

It is important to know that at this moment more frequent contacts are being established between these neo-Nazi groupings and the South African and Rhodesian governments, with all that is connected therewith, i.e. movements of funds etc. The same contacts are being widened with the neo-Nazi movements of Europe.

So it was that the so-called National Democratic Party of West Germany set up a group of sympathisers in South Africa as well as in South West Africa, a former German colony where as you know the South African government exercises its illegal power. So it is that in two publications with neo-Nazi tendencies, the *Storm* (organ of the Flemish movement) and *Nation Europa* (published in West Germany), the October numbers are dedicated almost exclusively to South Africa. In each number published by these movements, one constantly finds reports of South Africa and Rhodesia as being countries which are the spearhead of battle for the "defence of the white man".

THE BOMB

All this throws a sinister light on countries continuing to equip South

Africa militarily. We have spoken of the help given by France, England and Italy. The ties with Rhodesia, under the cover of attracting tourists, are going to lead to the construction in the very near future of a big motor-way, a sort of strategic route between South Africa and Rhodesia.

Specialists estimate that in about two years South Africa could have the atomic bomb, and they believe that work has been going on for some time now to elaborate a radio-active belt which would permit the whole of South Africa to isolate itself totally from the rest of Africa in the case of conflict.

I will add that in September 1965, a secret military pact was signed in Lisbon, which will link the Republic of South Africa with Portugal, in an attempt to form an 'impenetrable' barrier against the black African countries and so isolate the whole of Southern Africa.

There you have some information. Now it is for you to judge."

Readers are reminded of the publication "The Bonn-Pretoria Alliance", which was reviewed in Sechaba Number 9. "The Bonn-Pretoria Alliance" traces the links between the Nazis and the leaders of the South African Nationalist Party before, during and after the world war. Making use of documents and archives captured after the defeat of Hitler, the memorandum shows the part played by the Nazis and the monopoly firms that backed them in the evolution of the apartheid policy of South Africa. It exposes in great detail the presentday links between West Germany and South Africa (financial, political and military) and exposes the threat this represents to Africa. The Memorandum is available in English, French, Spanish, German or Russian, on request from the Afro-Asian Solidarity Committee, Thalmannplatz 8-9, Berlin, German Democratic Republic.

MEET STEEL

WITH STEEL

Extracts from a joint statement made by Duma NOKWE, Secretary General of the African National Congress, and George NYANDORO, Secretary-General of the Zimbabwe African People's Union, to Heads of State, at the Organization for Africa Unity meeting held at Kinshasa, Congo, on 11 and 16 September 1967.

"It is now a well-known fact that the armed struggle in Zimbabwe has been intensified and has assumed the form of a people's war — guerilla warfare against the white minority governments of Southern Africa. This struggle is being led by the Zimbabwe African People's Union and the African National Congress of South Africa. On 19 August 1967, these two organizations issued a historic declaration of their alliance to assault the fortress of the unholy alliance of fascism and racism in Southern Africa.

The alliance of these two organizations is based on the fact that the entire peoples of Southern Africa have common enemies and common objectives. Their success in smashing the bulwark and bastion of racialism, fascism and colonialism depends on their firm co-operation and solidarity. This alliance is an expression in action of the fundamental spirit of Pan-Africanism and an historic implementation of the basic tenets of this august organization — the Organization for African Unity.

FACTS GIVE LIE TO FUTILE PROPAGANDA

We are fully aware of the grim battles our people will have to wage, the incalculable cost in lives and the protracted nature of our present efforts. For a week we waged fierce armed battles in silence and allowed the enemy to do the shouting. In their desperation the South African racialists and the British settlers of Rhodesia tried to distort the reality of the armed conflict. They tried to distort both its objectives and its effectiveness in a vain effort to deceive and allay the fears of their white followers in Rhodesia and South Africa and their supporters in the world.

The facts of the progress of the revolution are constantly giving the lie to the vicious but futile propaganda of the white racists. The first joint press declaration referred to above and reproduced hereunder gives the facts as they are.

(Here followed the joint statement which appears elsewhere in this issue of Sechaba; followed by a brief review of oppression in South Africa and Rhodesia, and the co-operation of the oppressors. — Editor)

THREAT TO AFRICA

So long as the white minority regimes are allowed to remain as they are, to carry on their nefarious racist and colonialist objectives, a false tranquillity and security may appear

to exist for some time in some African states. The truth of the matter however is that African freedom, independence and dignity will continue to be subverted and ultimately reduced to nil by the white minority regimes.

The only alternative is to do what ZAPU and the ANC have already begun to do, that is to strike violently and ruthlessly against the citadel of the white racialists and oppressors.

HOMAGE TO ZAMBIA AND TANZANIA

For the people of Zimbabwe and South Africa this means sacrifice, facing death in many forms. Meeting steel with steel. For the neighbouring independent states this means a disturbance in their apparent tranquility and peace. Several threats have already been made by both Smith and Vorster that they will escalate their aggression against both Tanzania and Zambia. We pay deep homage to the contempt with which these two nations have dismissed these threats; their stand has been exemplary and commendable.

The very existence of the fascist states has always been an act of aggression against Africa. In some cases as in South Africa, Rhodesia, South West Africa, Mozambique and Angola, the aggression was against the local people: aggression and atrocities which have been persistent and mounting. In other parts of Africa the acts of racist and fascist aggressors are as yet potential. But the translation of this potentiality into action is imminent and dangerous.

OBLIGATIONS OF O.A.U.

This is the moment when the Organization for African Unity must either carry out its obligations of giving firm support to the efforts of smashing and destroying its worst enemies or be responsible for the reversal of the glorious African Revolution. There can and should be no equivocation and no wavering. The enemy has declared war against the genuine, full and complete liberation of Africa. It is our duty either to accept the challenge or betray the destiny of this continent. Frankly, the Organization For African Unity can either choose to assist, by default, the growth of racialism and fascism in Southern Africa and thus endanger the whole destiny of Africa, or it can marshal all its mighty potential resources and in a concerted and united effort destroy the monster which is on our continent. The moment of decision has come. Those amongst us who waver, cast doubt and even

obstruct the effort of our armed revolution against Smith, Vorster and Salazar, must be prepared to bear the judgment of history.

SOLIDARITY IN STRUGGLE

This situation demands solidarity with the fighting forces of the African peoples in the struggle for our liberation in Southern Africa. Hence the historic launching of the combined forces of ZAPU and ANC (S.A.). The declaration of the OAU and several resolutions of this august body define the full commitment of this organization to the liberation struggle in quite distinct terms. But we are constrained to point out with all due respect, and quite frankly, that material support and facilities for our struggle fall far too short of the demands for a struggle against Rhodesia and South Africa. The pace at which Africa moves in no way matches that of our formidable and well-equipped enemy forces.

IT TAKES POWER TO SEIZE POWER !

We for our part are resolved to carry out a determined and resolute struggle against the White oppressors. We shall not lay down our arms until the African motherland is completely free.

We sincerely believe that the armed struggle which we have now launched is not only a struggle to free the peoples of our countries from brutal enslavement, but is also of vital interest to the security and peaceful development of the whole of Africa and the world.

LONG LIVE AFRICAN UNITY

We feel, therefore, that it is not asking too much from our brothers in Africa in particular :

To increase their full material and active support for the struggle which is already raging;

To use their united force and authority to mobilise the anti-racialist, anti-fascist and anti-imperialist forces to throw their full weight behind this grim struggle for liberation;

To use all international forums and means to curb the criminal acts of assistance which certain and well-known Western powers have contributed to the strengthening of the South African and Rhodesian regimes;

To call upon responsible international organizations to recognise that a war has begun in Southern Africa, and that international bodies charged with the duty of supervising the implementation of the Geneva Conventions, should carry out their duties, particularly regarding prisoners of war, their treatment and fate.

We are hopeful that the Organization for African Unity will not fail in its tasks and duties in meeting these requests.

LONG LIVE THE STRUGGLE FOR THE COMPLETE AND TOTAL LIBERATION OF AFRICA !

LONG LIVE AFRICAN UNITY !

LONG LIVE THE ARMED STRUGGLE OF THE PEOPLE FOR FREEDOM !

WHO ARE THE TERRORISTS?

... asks the TRIBUNE, the British left-Labour weekly, in an editorial article headed: "Rhodesia's Resistance Fighters".

"There is a strong case for a complete ban on that tendentious word "terrorist". Of course it has a meaning, which is roughly the same as "guerilla", and it would be desirable if the latter word could be substituted for it in almost every case. The word "terrorist" is used simply because it can be relied on to produce the right hostile reaction. Day after day we hear about the "Vietcong terrorists" and the "American forces". But who could honestly argue that American military activities do not produce *more terror* and individual innocent suffering than those of the NLF ?

In the past fortnight or so, we have started hearing about African "terrorists" in Rhodesia. But the very use of that word represents a propaganda triumph for the Smith regime. As Sir Dingle Foot, newly resigned from the Government, pointed out on the radio, "resistance fighters" is a more accurate term. Like the anti-Nazi resistance movements in the last war, they are fighting in what is in effect occupied territory with the only means available to them, and they are fighting on behalf of the overwhelming majority of the inhabitants of that territory.

The British Government's comment upon the guerilla struggle provided a classic illustration of its dilemma over Rhodesia. On the one hand it said to Smith, "we told you so". On the other, it included a blanket condemnation of "all acts" of what, predictably, it called "terrorism". Unless the Government has turned pacifist — a notion which its current activities in Arabia and elsewhere belie — it has no right to issue such a condemnation. And it has no right in this instance, particularly, because it is Britain's failure to crush the Smith rebellion through its chosen method of sanctions which has indirectly led to the outbreak of guerilla activities.

The Government still urges everyone to have faith in sanctions, yet there is not the slightest sign that they are undermining the Smith regime's determination to resist. The Government still refuses to contemplate the use of force — though it has not been so squeamish in Aden — so it is hardly surprising that the Africans should conclude that they must take matters into their own hands. What is more they are fighting against a regime which the British Government itself has constantly denounced as "illegal". How then does the Government have the effrontery to condemn them ?

THE NGQUSA HILL MASSACRE

Some so-called friends and 'spokesmen' of Africans in Southern Africa, notably the South African Progressive Party and the Rhodesian Herald, have attacked the struggle launched by the combined forces of the ANC and ZAPU. They have openly and unashamedly joined forces with the Smith-Vorster regimes.

Since Sechaba was launched in January this year, we have repeatedly recalled incidents of armed aggression by the South African Police against (often unarmed and peaceful) people.

The Ngqusa Hill Massacre is a case in point. Violence in the Pondoland area (in the Transkei, South Africa) began when people tried to express their opposition to the establishment of Bantu Authorities and to discuss other grievances they had with the government.

At the first meeting called by the people at Ndhlovu, near Bizana, the tribesmen were told they should elect three spokesmen from among themselves to make representations on their behalf to the Chief Magistrate. The meeting duly elected three spokesmen — but before they could interview the Chief Magistrate, all three were arrested.

Following another meeting at Ndhlovu, the Chief Magistrate who attended, advised the people to make their complaints to the police.

Still hoping to present their views to the government, the people convened yet another meeting, this time at Ngqusa Hill. Police armed to the teeth arrived while the meeting was in progress. Without provocation they opened fire on the crowd. Eleven tribesmen were killed and fifteen were seriously injured.

New Age, the only South Africa non-racial weekly, commenting on this incident in its issue of 8 September 1960, stated: "Noted for their cheerfulness and hospitality, the Pondos have changed overnight to a grim and determined people..."

The great Pondo revolt that followed is now history, albeit living history. This article is proof, if proof is still needed, that the real terrorists in Southern Africa are the white minority rulers and their armed forces.

THE NGQUSA HILL INQUEST

ALBY SACHS, a young advocate at the time, culled these notes for Sechaba from entries made in his diary:

OCTOBER 1960, NGQUSA HILL

A large grassy height in Pondoland, Transkei. At the foot of the hill, a dense sub-tropical thicket. A tribesman, naked save for a loin-cloth, conducts me to a clearing in the forest. "The police came from there" he tells me through an interpreter. I make notes in preparation for the inquest. "The steel birds with the revolving wings came over our heads." There is no word in Xhosa meaning helicopter. "We put up a white flag. The police came from there and there and there, and they started shooting at us. We ran away as fast as we could. I saw people falling. My back started to burn, but still I kept on running." He turns round and shows me a bullet scar near his spine. "We were afraid to go back. On the next day we returned and saw the dogs eating the bodies."

St Marks Anglican Mission

An iron triangle is beaten loudly. The white missionaries and I take our seats on the stoep while African converts bring the mid-morning tea. "We operated right through the day and night" the doctor tells me. Young, with a weatherbeaten face and old-fashioned dress, she had left Cambridge for Africa. "I've never seen such extensive injuries. The bullets tumbled as they entered the bodies. They were made of soft lead and fractured into a dozen splinters as soon as they struck bone." Since her arrival at the mission most of her time had been taken up with trying to get proper supplies of water and begging for more medicines. "Nearly all the entrance wounds were in the back."

Lusikisiki Hotel

Two reporters teach me how to play 'Matches'. They ask how long I think the case will last. I tell them a week at least, and they scowl. Later a young man comes up to me. "Hallo, Mr Sachs, don't you remember?" He is fair-haired and friendly. "Frikkie — — —, you cross-examined me in the Paarl riots case." I remember now. He belonged to a Saracen unit that had been sent to Paarl to break up the crowds of Africans and Coloureds who had thronged the streets and halted cars in their anger at the punishment of Elizabeth Mafekeng, leader of the Food and Canning Workers Union. She was later deported to Basutoland. Now Frikkie is in plain clothes.

Native Commissioner's Office, Lusikisiki "Communications have broken down. The people don't come to me any more." The Native Commissioner looks grey and

tired. His life's work is being ruined. "For their sake I'm worried about what will happen. There isn't much time left. Please tell the leaders that I'm very sympathetic and that my door is always open to them." He belongs to an older English generation and seems to feel that Pretoria's interference has provoked the trouble. The Pondos refuse to pay their taxes and hold meetings without telling him. "This was always the most peaceful part of the country. There's practically no crime in the Transkei." No one listens to him any more, not the government nor the people. He is glad to have me as an audience, though he must know I can't help him.

Lusikisiki Courtroom

The inquest into the death of eleven Pondo men commences. I inform the Magistrate that I have come from Cape Town to replace attorney Mr Rowley Arenstein who has been banned by the Minister of Justice, and thereby prevented from appearing for the dependents of the deceased. A succession of policemen give evidence. "The tribesmen opened fire first. We fired in self-defence." Each witness has to be cross-examined separately and in detail. The African spectators are clearly disappointed that I am so young, but they seem pleased that I am not scared to suggest that the police might be lying.

How many tribesmen were killed?

Eleven.

How many policemen were killed?

None.

How many tribesmen were injured?

Dozens.

How many policemen were injured?

One — sprained his ankle.

Why is it that so many bullets entered the back?

No answer.

What weapons did the police have?

Sten-guns, rifles, revolvers.

How many weapons did the police find at the scene?

One defective pistol and half-a-dozen sticks and assegais.

How many bodies did the police find at the scene?

They did not stop to count.

Why did they not help the injured?

They feared they might be attacked.

By whom?

The Bantu (Africans) in the area.

But they had time to search for weapons?

No answer.

Why was no inquest held immediately?

No answer.

Why was it first announced to the press that the tribesmen had been killed in a faction fight?

No answer.

Why was the inquest, when eventually forced by the lawyer for the dependents, at first held only into the deaths of six men when eleven had been killed?

They didn't realise so many had been killed.

Lawyer's Office, Lusikisiki

We take statements from the families of the deceased. Civil claims will be instituted against the police for the loss of breadwinners' incomes. We look for every possible item. The claims can rarely be based on an estimate of more than £30 loss of earnings per annum.

The Courtroom Continued

The proceedings last seven hours a day. For six gruelling days. There is a weakness in the police case and I discover that they are shielding one of their men. I have him subpoenaed, and he admits he fired a sten-gun into the crowd. Why did he make alterations in

his written statement?

His answer is confused.

Why did he first write that he had fired to stop the tribesmen from fleeing, and then cross out these words and say he had fired in self-defence?

No answer.

Was it because he learnt it would not have been lawful for him to have used his gun to effect an arrest?

He did not think of that.

November 1960, Cape Town

Newspapers report that the air force and navy are assisting the armoured mobile squad of the South African Police in putting down resistance in Pondoland. The police are given unlimited powers of detention and interrogation, while reporters are excluded from the area.

1961, Cape Town

The findings of the Ngqusa Hill inquest are published. The most important point: the majority of deaths were caused by policemen who fired negligently, even recklessly, into the crowds in circumstances amounting to culpable homicide. A newspaper editorial comments proudly that the independence of the judiciary has once more been demonstrated.

1961, Cape Town

Legislation is passed giving indemnity to the police for the shootings at Sharpeville, Langa and Ngqusa Hill. The Government announces that no prosecutions will be brought against any of the policemen concerned.

THE DIE IS CAST

In the light of the above and in the light of overwhelming evidence of other attacks on peaceful demonstrations such as Sharpeville, do our so-called friends and 'spokesmen' still condemn us for having taken up arms for the revolutionary overthrow of the fascist regimes in Zimbabwe and South Africa?

We in the African National Congress make no apology for our actions. Over a number of years no stone was left unturned in our efforts to transform South Africa into a non-racial democracy through peaceful means. Each effort was spurned and our peoples have been killed, maimed, sentenced to long terms of imprisonment, banned, banished and house-arrested.

The die is cast! We urge all democrats to give us their unqualified support. If this is not possible for one reason or another, we urge you to disengage yourself completely from interfering in our struggle. The African people do not need friends who, at this late hour, talk of a peaceful, parliamentary solution to the South African problem.

*You are either with us or against us!
And you cannot walk on a shaky tight-rope. (See our article "The End of a Road", dealing with the South African Progressive Party, appearing elsewhere in this issue.)*



International Seminar on Apartheid, Racial Discrimination and Colonialism in Southern Africa

We present the main conclusions reached at the above seminar, held at the invitation of the Government of the Republic of Zambia, at Kitwe, from 25 July to 4 August, 1967. The Seminar was attended by 32 Governments, observers from several International Organizations and from African Liberation Movements recognised by the Organization for African Unity.

**Apartheid a crime against humanity
and a threat to peace**

"The Seminar considers that the continued existence of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa constitutes a crime against humanity and poses a grave threat to peace and security not only in southern Africa but also in other areas of the world outside the African continent.

"One man, one vote"

The United Nations and Member States have a vital interest in taking effective measures to secure the eradication of apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism in southern Africa, and to promote a solution based on the right of self-determination, freedom and independence, the principle of "one man, one vote", and the full application of human rights and fundamental freedoms to all the people without distinction as regards race and colour.

**Forward the struggle in Southern
Africa**

"The Seminar congratulates and encourages the peoples of South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and Territories under Portuguese domination in their struggle against apartheid, racial discrimination and colonialism.

**UN must recognise legitimacy of the
struggle**

The Seminar recommends to the General Assembly of the United Nations that it adopt a declaration recognising the legitimacy of the struggle of the peoples of South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia, and Territories under Portuguese domination for the achievement of their inalienable right to equality, freedom and independence in accordance with the Purposes and Principles of the United Nations Charter.

**All states should provide assistance to
the struggle**

The Seminar attaches the greatest importance to the appeals addressed by the General Assembly of the United Nations to all States to provide moral, political and material assistance to the African national liberation movements in these territories.

**Security Council should invoke Chap-
ter 7 of the Charter**

"Noting that appeals and other efforts at persuasion of the racist and colonial regimes to abandon their criminal policies and conform to their obligations under the United Nations Charter have failed, the Seminar considers it essential that the United Nations Security Council should take enforcement action under Chapter VII of the United Nations Charter.

**Sanctions against Vorster, Salazar
and Smith**

The Seminar considers that the imposition of effective mandatory economic sanctions against South Africa, Portugal and the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia is imperative in order to promote a peaceful solution.

Total sanctions

"The Seminar considers that, in order to be effective, the sanctions against the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia must be total, comprehensive, universal and mandatory.

UK must crush Smith regime

It further considers that the United Kingdom bears the primary responsibility for the situation in Southern Rhodesia and must be called upon to use force to crush the illegal racist minority regime.

Sanctions to stop support for Smith

The Seminar strongly condemns the support given to the illegal racist minority regime in Southern Rhodesia by South Africa and Portugal, and considers that the Security Council of the United Nations should urgently take effective steps to stop such support by instituting mandatory sanctions against these States violating the sanctions against the illegal racist minority regime.

**No Rhodesian independence without
majority rule**

The Seminar calls upon the United Nations to make it unequivocally clear that there can be no recognition of the independence of Southern Rhodesia without majority African rule.

President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia addresses the opening meeting of the Seminar, 25 July 1967.



Positive action to assist Zambia

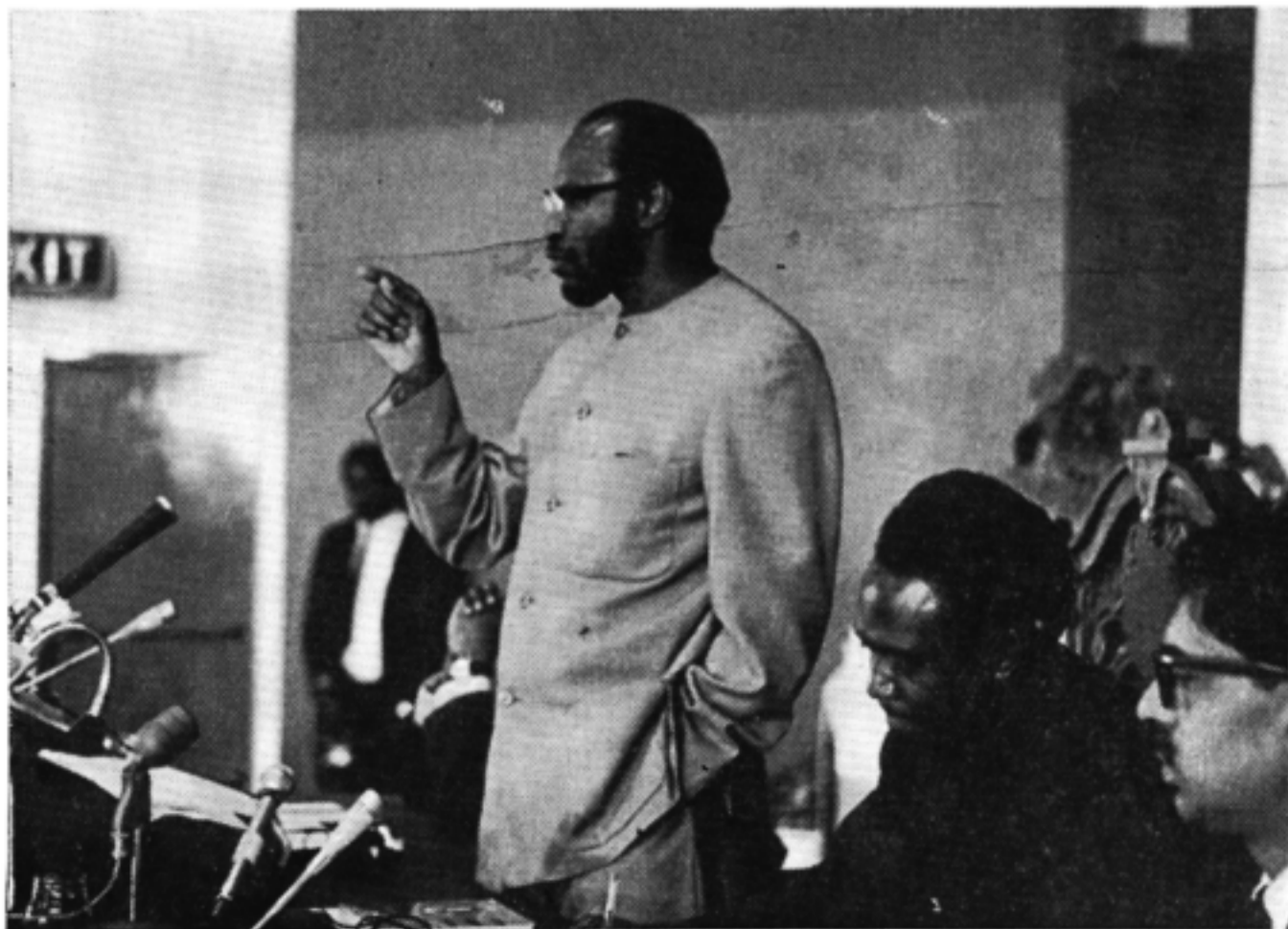
The Seminar calls for an international action of positive solidarity with the Republic of Zambia to assist the Republic to overcome the serious difficulties and economic strain resulting from the application of sanctions against the illegal regime of Southern Rhodesia.

UN resolutions must be implemented

"The Seminar recommends that urgent attention be given to means to secure the implementation by all States of resolutions already adopted by the Security Council and the General Assembly with regard to the situation in southern Africa.

Deplores supply of arms to South Africa, military aid to Portugal, increasing trade with the regimes

It expresses serious regret at the attitudes and actions of States which continue to collaborate with the racist and colonialist regimes in southern Africa in contravention of resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. In particular, it deplores : (a) the continued supply of arms to South Africa, the assistance provided by several Western States and international companies in the development of an arms industry in South Africa and in the training of South African armed forces; (b) the continued provision of military assistance to Portugal



Simon Kapwepwe (standing), Foreign Minister of Zambia, addresses the Seminar. At centre is John W.S. Malecela (United Republic of Tanzania) Chairman. At right is E.S. Reddy, Chief of Section for African Questions (UN), who acted as Secretary of the Seminar.

Photos : United Nations

and the training of Portuguese armed forces by its allies in the North Atlantic Treaty Organization; and (c) the increasing trade with, and investment in, South Africa, South West Africa, Southern Rhodesia and Territories under Portuguese domination by several Western States, as well as an Asian State.

It draws the attention of these States to the fact that their attitudes and actions encourage the racist and colonial regimes in southern Africa to persist in their criminal policies, and undermine the authority and prestige of the United Nations.

The Seminar recommends that the Secretary-General of the United Nations be requested to take active measures to promote the implementation of the decisions of the Security Council and the General Assembly with regard to southern Africa, and to report to the General Assembly and the Security Council from time to time on the responses from Member States.

"The Seminar condemns the inhuman policy of apartheid and its manifestations anywhere in the world.

The Seminar condemns the efforts of South Africa to undermine independent African States and to entice them by economic, financial and other inducements. It calls upon all States to resist such enticements."

Such helpers are encouraging the racist regimes

Secretary-General must promote implementation of resolutions

Condemns apartheid

Condemns South African attempts to undermine Africa

Sechaba

NEWS ITEMS

1. Illegal Trial of 37

Five members of the British Parliament were refused admittance at South Africa House in London during a demonstration organised by the Anti-Apartheid Movement outside the South African Embassy. The demonstration was against the illegal trial of 37 South West African Freedom Fighters facing the death penalty (reported in Sechaba no. 9). The MPs had wished to deliver a letter demanding the release of the Freedom-Fighters.

The MPs — the four in the photo and Mr Arthur Davidson — threw the letter on the doormat at the entrance to South Africa House.

In the trial in South Africa, the defence Counsel put forward a plea that the Court had no jurisdiction to try the case, and that the vicious nazi law — the Terrorist Act (see Sechaba no. 9) — under which the men are being tried, was invalid and of no effect in South West Africa, as the United Nations had revoked the South African mandate over South West Africa in October last year. Justice Ludorf (who, by the way, was forced to recuse himself during the notorious Treason Trial of 1965), rejected this plea.

The charges against the 37 include a conspiracy to overthrow the Government and administration of South West Africa by "violent revolution and substituting a government of members of the South West African People's Organization (SWAPO)".

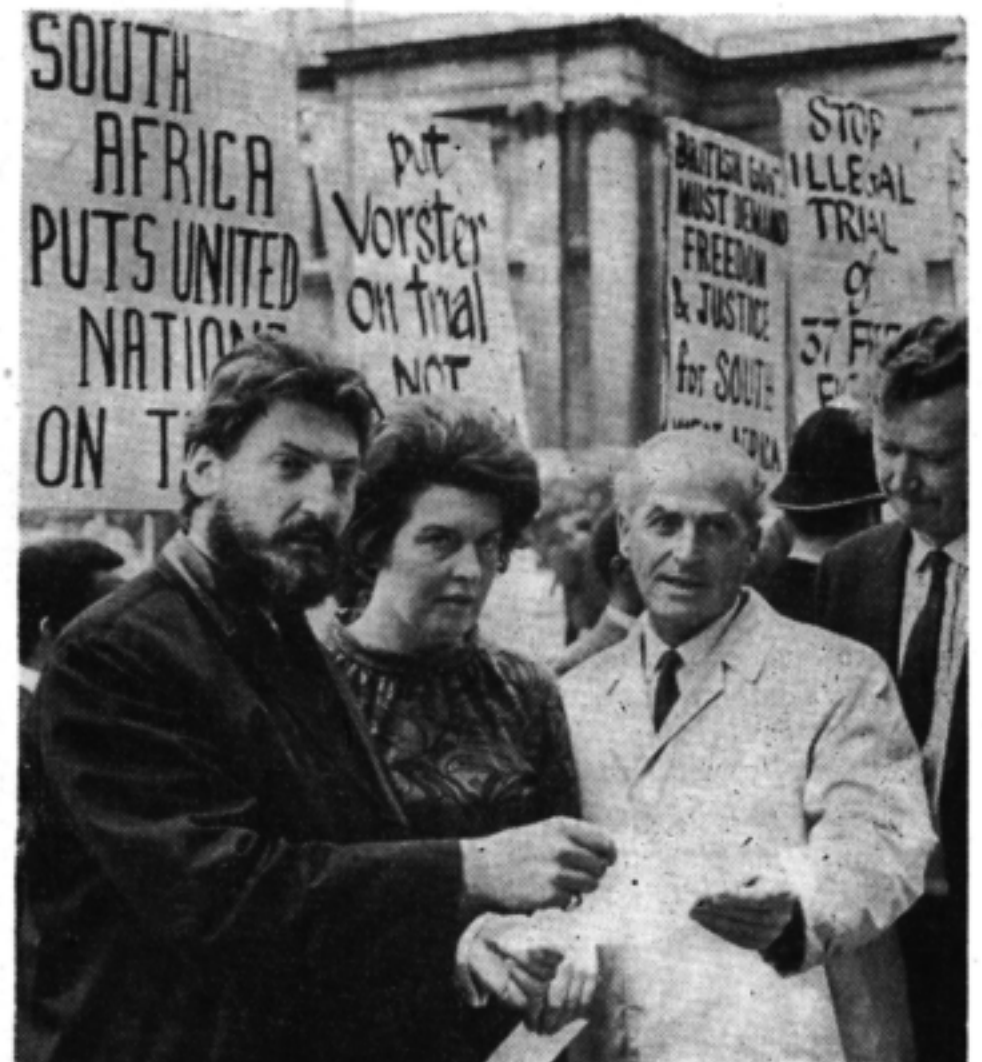
2. Swanu Banned

The Government of Tanzania has banned the South West African National Union which has been operating from an office in Dar es Salaam for the past 4 years. An official statement said Swanu was serving "no useful purpose in the South West African freedom fight".

3. Nana Sita Protest

The photo on the right shows some of the demonstrators organised by the London group of the South African Indian Congress, against the persecution of former leader Nana Sita, who has been sentenced to 6 months' imprisonment for defying the Group Areas Act. This is his third conviction for the same 'offence'. (See Sechaba no. 10.) A report from South Africa states that Mr Sita, who is 69 years old and suffers from chronic arthritis, is seriously ill, and both his knees are swollen. He is serving his sentence at Pretoria Prison.

British MPs — Mr Andrew Faulds, Miss Joan Lester, Dr M.P. Winstanley and Mr Michael Barnes — outside South Africa House. (See first news item.)



REPORT AND COMMENT

COMMENTS ON SOME RECENT ISSUES IN THE WHITE SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS

THE END OF A ROAD

It has been stated that the road to hell is paved with good intentions. In South African politics, it is paved with compromise. Witness the latest victim — the Progressive Party of South Africa. It was born less than ten years ago amid loud declarations of good intention. But — as critics pointed out at the time of its birth — only monsters face both ways at once. The Progressive Party faced both ways. It was AGAINST colour discrimination in South African society. It was FOR a franchise qualified by educational and property conditions which would — for as long a time as one could then foresee — discriminate unfairly against the economically and educationally oppressed non-white majority. It was FOR democratic rights and civil liberties for all. But it was AGAINST 'unconstitutional', that is 'illegal', political action — in a state where the non-white majority have no legal political rights.

The attempt at facing both ways at once fooled nobody. The whites did not mistake the Progressives for genuine upholders of the sacred cow of white supremacy. At the last general election, less than one voter in thirty voted Progressive (only Whites have the vote in South Africa). Nor did the non-whites mistake them for radicals allied against white supremacy: they refused to join or back the Party.

SHAKY TIGHTROPE

For a short while, the Party balanced precariously on a rather shaky tightrope

between the two contending camps — the white supremacists and the liberation movement. This month they were shaken from the tightrope by the first guerilla operations by South African liberation forces. When the news of the guerilla battles in Rhodesia became known, the Progressive Party was in conference. And it understood precisely what had led to guerilla war.

"For eight years we have drawn attention to the fact that unless we grant all our people a say in the affairs of the country ... conditions will be created that lead people to despair of changing the system constitutionally. They might then be tempted to think of unconstitutional ways of changing a political order which they consider to be unfair and unjust."

True, oh sages of the Progressive Party — even if the thought lags behind the event and unconstitutional action is already taken. But what conclusion?

"The Progressive Party will oppose terrorism with all the determination that we command."

WHO THE TERRORISTS ?

Whose terrorism, do you ask? Is it Premier Vorster's they refer to, with his laws which place the police above the law? The police who beat and torture and kill in the South African prisons? The whites-only army which parades in force through the non-white residential areas and train to 'keep kaffirs in their place'?

Unfortunately no. The Progressive Party refers here to the "terrorism" of guerillas — thus they are finally off the fence and squarely *against* the liberation movement of the majority people.

The Progressive Party has sealed its short flirtation with progress by a final

act of abject surrender to the most reactionary of white supremacists. This month it announced its support for the Vorster government's illegal invasion of Rhodesia to aid Smith against the guerillas.

ABJECT SURRENDER

The end of a road of compromise: abject surrender to the enemy. Those who ponder this sorry spectacle might also think of the lone — and generally courageous — Progressive Party MP in South Africa, Mrs Helen Suzman, who recently advised the world — through the columns of the British right-wing press — NOT to boycott South Africa. "The Africans will be the worst sufferers" she claimed.

From now on, the Progressive Party can spare us their advice and their crocodile tears. Deeds speak louder than words. And their deeds have placed them finally in the camp of the Vorsters and the Ian Smiths.

Demonstrators outside South Africa House in London protest against persecution of former South African Indian Congress leader Nana Sita, now in prison. (See 'Nana Sita Protest' on facing page.)



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This sober and factual account of conditions in some of South Africa's prisons, with special reference to the conditions under which political prisoners are kept, has evoked wide interest. Newspapers in several countries, including the Sunday Times in Britain, have given it wide publicity — and it was ensured wide publicity in South Africa when the issues of the British paper were seized at Jan Smuts airport to remove the report, and then sold with a great deal of the offending article still in the inside pages.

The publication has four clear areas covered by a special arrangement of the material :

- (1) the Red Cross report submitted by Mr Georg Hoffman of the International Red Cross;
- (2) the comments of the South African Prison Administration;
- (3) the testimony of various political ex-prisoners with direct experience of prison conditions; and
- (4) the comments of the Defence and Aid Fund itself.

The total effect is of a sober account of the position and a careful evaluation of the facts : and the facts are damning.

For they show that while the South African prison authorities have been busy whitewashing, the true position is a grim and often brutal one.

The report of the Red Cross, which has often been referred to as if it gave a favourable picture of conditions, is shown to be in fact extremely damaging. When the testimony of prisoners is added, it is seen that the viciousness of apartheid, not surprisingly, is as savage and senseless in the prisons as it is in the country as a whole. No wonder that Canon Collins, at a press conference called to announce the release of the publication, spoke of the report as a "damning indictment". For those who are anxious to know something about South Africa, or for those interested in the facts about prison conditions, this book is a must.

But the true value of the publication is probably to be measured by the reports — many of them from reliable sources — of the improvements seen in South Africa's prisons since the launching of the great Prison Campaign. It is this that gives the book its special value.