


20 years ago the Universal Declaration of Human Rights came into being.
20 years ago the fascists came into power in South Africa.
Now, in 1968, South Africa is the only country in the world which has legislated policy in direct opposition to the Universal Declaration.
1968 is Human Rights Year. 

Sechababa

Official Organ of the African National Congress of South Africa

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Demonstration in London. See first article: "Those Who Arm Our Enemies Are Our Enemies."

THOSE WHO ARM OUR ENEMIES ARE OUR ENEMIES



We are at war. Our fighting men are in Zimbabwe, and this year may well be fighting in South Africa itself. Already there are men and women in South Africa preparing to respond to the African National Congress's call to "help the freedom-fighters, make their path easy, make the enemy's path hard." And messages of support and offers of assistance in the armed struggle have reached us from supporters throughout the world.

Yet there are those who would help our enemy, not only with their trade and investment and diplomatic support, but with the weapons with which to defend the repulsive system in South Africa. Some of these crawled out of the woodwork last year to campaign for an end to the British embargo on arms sales to apartheid; and although they failed, their move disclosed some support in high places for the South African regime, including in the British Labour Cabinet.

MILITARY BUDGET

South Africa's military expenditure has risen from £ 22 million in 1960—61 to £ 127½ million in 1966—67. It is now 12% of the total South African budget. The permanent force of 17,276 men (1967) is supplemented by a Citizen Force of over 80,000 trained reservists; more are being trained at the rate of some 25,000 per year.

But what really makes South Africa a military power, and a threat to all its African neighbours, is the extent of its armaments. And these, with the exception of a certain amount of ammunition manufactured in the Republic itself, must all be bought abroad or manufactured under foreign licence.

FRANCE, WEST GERMANY

The Security Council of the United Nations recommended an international embargo on the sale of arms to South Af-

rica in 1963. The United States in September 1963 and the United Kingdom in November 1964, both of them traditional arms suppliers to the Republic, agreed to implement the embargo.

But other countries, notably France, which has rejected the UN's resolution outright, and West Germany, which claims that it supplies arms for external defence only and not for internal suppression, rushed to fill the gap. Vorster and his henchmen have apparently found no great difficulty in buying as many armoured vehicles and aircraft, even rockets and submarines, as they want.

ARMY

Current army equipment includes American Sherman and British Comet and Centurion tanks; British Ferret and French Panhard armoured vehicles; Swedish Bofor and Swiss Oerlikon anti-aircraft guns; British Green Archer and Swiss Fledermaus radar equipment; and Belgian FN 7.62 automatic rifles.

Some of this equipment was bought from Britain and America before the embargo came into force — but in some cases at least (such as the Saracen armoured cars used by the S. A. police), spare parts continue to be supplied in spite of the embargo.

Other items may be obtained through third countries, which themselves manufacture under licence, or through one of the international arms dealers who long ago have discovered the loopholes in such controls as exist for the regulation of the arms trade.

But the Panhard car and the FN rifles are actually manufactured in South Africa under licence from the French and Belgian owners; and in May 1965 the Minister of Defence was able to boast that he had acquired *one hundred and twenty seven* licences for local manufacture of foreign arms and ammunition.

NAVY

The South African Navy comprises over 30 vessels, including two re-fitted destroyers carrying naval helicopters, maritime strike aircraft and reconnaissance planes; four anti-submarine frigates; and a tanker, the *Annam*, 12,000 tons, bought from Denmark in May 1965.

The Republic has also signed an agreement with France (April 1967) enabling it to order 3 Daphne-type deep-diving submarines. And in the same year the Ministry of Defence announced that a Decca (British) radio navigational system capable of determining the position of vessels at sea to within 25 yards, would be installed to cover the coast from South West Africa round to Natal.

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The South African Air Force has one squadron of Sabre Mk 6 interceptors (Sabres are US-designed but also manufactured in Canada); 16 Mirage 111C2 supersonic jet strike fighter-bombers equipped with AS-30 air-to-surface missiles, bought from France in 1963; and two squadrons of Mirage 111E2 intruder fighters delivered in 1965-66; as well as "a small number" of Mirage R2 jets, special reconnaissance models. Pre-embargo purchases also include a squadron of British Canberra B12 light bombers, eight Shackleton maritime recon aircraft, several American Cessna 185 Skywagon jet recon aircraft, and five Lockheed Hercules C130-8 transports bought from the USA in 1962-63 just prior to the embargo. 16 Blackburn Buccaneer low-level strike bombers delivered in 1965-66 were specifically excluded from the arms embargo when it was imposed by the British Government in 1964. In addition, the SAAF operates Nord Transall troop-carriers (French with West German components), and over 60 helicopters, mostly French Alouette and S. A. 3210 Super Frelon; and a few Westland Wasp (British) and Sikorsky (USA).

Marcel Dessault, the French firm that makes the Mirages and Mysteres, complained in 1966 that it had been prevented from selling a further three Mystere 20 executive jets to South Africa, because the US state department refused to authorize the export of American components, which include the engine, electrical equipment, wheels and brakes. A similar refusal by the State Department destroyed a similar British deal in December 1967.

But no British scruples inhibited the sale of three Mystere 205 planes with British Hawker-Siddely engines in 1965; nor the arrangement, also made in 1965, whereby a new South African aircraft manufacturing corporation, Atlas Aircraft, would build 300 Italian 326 jet trainers (known in South Africa as Impalas) which have British Bristol Viper jet engines, built under licence in Italy by Piaggio Aircraft.

"S. A." AIRCRAFT INDUSTRY

The development of South Africa's "own" arms and aircraft industries is thus emerging as the most important means of evading the effect of the UN embargo call. Evasion involves the collaboration of companies in countries which publicly ignore the embargo, such as France and Italy, but also of British and American companies.

A British company, the giant Imperial Chemical Industries (which has, incidentally, two British Government-appointed directors on its board), has a half-share in African Explosives and Chemical Industries, the South African company which has built three munitions factories to make tear gas and small-arms munitions for the S. A. Defence Force. Another British company, Rolls Royce, supplies the engines for Rotocraft Ltd, one of the new aircraft manufacturing companies recently set up in South Africa, which makes a two-seater gyroplane.

Two USA companies, the Maulle company and the Meyers Aircraft Company of Michigan, have signed contracts with C. R. Jansen Aviation Ltd, which is to assemble a four-seater Meyers passenger plane that can take off within 90 feet for the police, a four-seater trainer for the military, and a Maulle Rocket short take-off and landing aircraft. Another US company, Afic Holdings (Pty) Ltd, is to build Italian light aircraft in South Africa, the Afic RSA 200, an all-metal single-engine four-seater with a cruising speed of 160 mph. A spokesman for the company is reported to have said that this was an answer to the application of sanctions by the US government.

There is therefore no reluctance among the arms producers of the West to keep apartheid well-equipped with the means of suppression and possibly of aggression against free African states.

These companies, together with others in the USA and Britain who would dearly love a bigger share of the profits to be had, constitute a formidable world lobby to make nonsense of the UN arms embargo. Their allies in this lobby are the big traders and investors who have their finger in the South African pie, and who see their enormous profits, inflated as they are by starvation wages, tied to the survival of apartheid.

These are the interests that are playing along with the S. A. Government's present campaign to end the embargo in Britain and the USA. South Africa is in no doubt about what it wants: it aims not only to end the arms embargo, but to gain international acceptance of the role it sees for itself in Southern Africa — as perpetual ruler of South Africa and of the illegally annexed South West Africa; and boss of a whole complex of countries, including Botswana, Lesotho, Zimbabwe (Rhodesia), Malawi, Angola and Mozambique. They see these countries as forming an economic unit (a Southern Africa Common Market) and a political and military fortress from which South Africa's 'influence' can be further extended through Africa.

Already South Africa's arsenal has played a decisive part in perpetuating the illegal Smith regime in Zimbabwe. British Saracens are being used by South African police there. According to the London Financial Times, the Atlas Corporation has supplied Rhodesia with aircraft, probably the Aermacchi Lockheed 60, a light utility transport plane with a US engine. And South African troops in Zimbabwe are using French Alouette helicopters (re-painted in Rhodesian colours) and at least two spotter planes, which operate along the Zambesi from the airport at Kariba.

This is the plot of our enemy — to reverse the trend of the last ten years which has made apartheid the pariah of the world, and to try and gain itself "respectability" as the force for "stability" in Africa, as the "reliable ally" against "international communism."

(continued over)

ISRAELI INTERVENTION

The first news of a projected plan to enable Israel to intervene in South Africa against the oppressed and exploited African people has now come to light. We have on several occasions made specific reference to the aggressive imperialist-inspired actions of Israel. Now, although South Africa is already producing jet fighter-bombers at the Atlas Aircraft Corporation plant near Johannesburg, Israel has entered the field as a prospective supplier of aircraft to be used against our militants.

It is reported in the South African press that the deputy director-general and the chief engineer of Israeli Aircraft Industries, the biggest aircraft production organization in the Middle East, were among a group of 60 prominent Israelis who visited South Africa recently as guests of El Al, the Israeli airline.

The group of 60 is said to have included important government officials, members of El Al, and leading Israeli businessmen.

The Israeli aviation experts toured the Atlas Aircraft plant; after the tour, arrangements were started to bring an Israeli-manufactured Arava short-take-off-and-landing aircraft to South Africa for a series of demonstrations . . .

It is a plot that was hatched by other men 30 years ago, and there were people in the West who fell into the trap then — bringing disaster on themselves as well as on the plotters.

BRITISH CRISIS EXPLOITED

The extent of the present conspiracy should not be underestimated, for the pressure worked up in Britain to end the arms embargo has been prodigious.

The South Africans chose their moment carefully, so as to exploit to the full Britain's economic crisis. As Prime Minister Vorster put it in November last year: "Given Britain's financial and economic crisis, the sanctions programme against Rhodesia and the arms embargo against South Africa are two luxuries she can no longer afford."

Armed with this argument, Mr William Luke, Chairman of the Southern Africa Committee of the semi-official British National Export Council told a BNEC luncheon in September last year that the embargo was prejudicing British trade with South Africa (Britain's largest trading partner in 1967); and the Council's annual report subsequently called for modification of the embargo.

South Africa's Foreign Minister Dr Muller tackled George Brown in London in October 1967; in November the Financial Times, followed by other leading newspapers, published stories that the British Cabinet was split on the issue of modifying the embargo, in the light of a South African offer to buy warships and aircraft (possibly the Buccaneer). It seemed also that South Africa was using its old threat that the use of the Simonstown naval base (guaranteed to Britain in time of need) would be jeopardized if the UK did not abandon the embargo.

So confident was South Africa that the campaign would succeed that the Republic's Finance Minister, Dr Diederichs, on returning from a European tour in November, stated flatly that "the embargo will be lifted shortly, because of the importance to Britain of the Cape route to the Far East." The Suez Canal was, of course, closed following the Israeli war of aggression.

Diederichs added ominously that many overseas countries now realised that South Africa was a "bastion of the West" and that countries such as Tanzania "and others which support terrorist acts against South Africa" should not be sold ammunition.

According to the Press, some of these arguments had convinced at least three of Britain's top Cabinet Ministers: the Foreign Secretary, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Minister of Defence — and even at one point, possibly the Prime Minister himself.

What defeated the move was the immediate and indignant reaction of our many friends and supporters among the British people — in the Anti-Apartheid Movement, in the Trade Union and Labour Movements, in Parliament, and throughout the country.

EXPOSE THE PLOTTERS

This was a victory for the forces of freedom in South Africa. But we may be certain that our enemies will try again, that they will continue and intensify their pressures for an end to the embargo and for explicit support of the status quo in Southern Africa. Our enemies have vast resources, they have powerful allies among financiers and industrialists, and among conservative politicians throughout the West. We have few resources, but we have the strength of the justice of our cause, the faith of the people of South Africa, and the friendship of our comrades throughout the world. It is on these friends that we must depend to "make the enemy's path hard" by exposing all who support the Southern Africa lobby, by campaigning against all arms deals and technical and trade agreements with South Africa, and by mobilizing public support for the freedom struggle in Southern Africa.

(Footnote. Information on the extent and type of South African foreign arms has been drawn from the UN report entitled: "Military and Police Forces in the Republic of South Africa," New York, 1967.)

FROM THE FRONT

Panic Measures in South Africa

300 MORE FREEDOM-FIGHTERS ENTER ZIMBABWE

Enemy sources in Rhodesia and South Africa recently admitted that their security forces were "in contact" with a unit of freedom-fighters who had crossed into Zimbabwe (Rhodesia). The group numbered twelve men and they entered Zimbabwe at Chirundu. When the enemy forces came into contact with the freedom-fighters no immediate offensive action was attempted, the primary role of the group being at that time to contact local Zimbabweans in preparation for a larger force to follow.

More than 200 members of the liberation army have now followed this advance group into their home land. This new onslaught caught the Rhodesian racist regime's security forces by surprise. Heavy rains have turned most areas of the Zambesi Valley into a slithering jungle, with new bush growth making progress impossible for non-guerilla forces except along well-protected paths.

ACTION IN SOUTH WEST AFRICA

The activities of freedom-fighters on the northern border of South West Africa are creating a heavy drain on the manpower resources of the South African racists' Police Force. This was admitted recently by the Acting State President of South Africa. As a result, he stated, more recruits were needed for the Police Force.

Speaking at a passing-out parade of 1,500 police recruits, he appealed to the parents of young men to encourage and help them "in the important and noble task of maintaining law and order." The police, he said, were in effect the first line of defence in the country, requiring among other things intensive training in musketry and in the military sphere.

BIGGEST-EVER CALL-UP IS PLANNED

South Africa is planning its biggest-ever peace-time Citizen Force call-up, the acting Commandant-General, General A. J. Martin, stated in a press interview in South Africa recently.

About 30,000 trainees would be called up for the Army, Air Force and Navy under the new national service scheme, which replaces the ballot system. About 20,000 would be posted to Citizen Force units, and 10,000 to the commandos. National service now means that all white youths will be called up when 17. Under the old ballot scheme, those whose names were not drawn escaped Citizen Force training altogether.

"Nobody will escape in the future," said General Martin, "except of course those who are medically unfit or are granted exemption."

Immigrants will also be liable for call-up.

CALL FOR MORE POLICE RECRUITS

The South African Police can take more than 2,000 recruits a year, the Commissioner of Police, General J. M. Keevy,

told a pressman. He was commenting on the appeal by the acting State President (see above).

"We can take every recruit who is able to pass the fitness test," stated General Keevy. "We would welcome them." Apart from the present demands on the force, he stated, it was policy at all times to strengthen the police.

GIRLS FOR 'CIVIL DEFENCE'

The armed forces had decided not to call up girls for service in military units, stated General Hiemstra, Commandant-General of the South African Defence Force, in a press interview.

The girls whom it is planned to call up this year will be trained "solely in civil defence," he said.

It is now known that the white girls thus recruited will be members of the Division of Civil Defence which, although it comes under the Minister of Defence, operates separately from the S. A. Defence Force.

Announcing the call-up, Mr Botha (Minister of Defence) said the girls' training will be based on a semi-military principle. "We will start on a small scale," he said. "Their training will include first-aid, self-defence, shooting and ambulance work."

JAPAN'S ROLE IN SOUTHERN AFRICA

Representatives of some African countries at the United Nations recently attacked "certain Asian countries" for trading with South Africa. We presume that they referred mainly to Japan with its ever-extending trade links with South Africa. From the context of their criticism it would appear that Japan was being attacked because it was a non-white nation trading with a white oppressor regime.

It appears from this attack as though there is a fundamental misunderstanding of the nature of racism and a lack of proper assessment of Japan's international economic role. The roots of racism, whether in Africa, the US or elsewhere, are basically economic. Racism provided and continues to provide an ideological framework for economic oppression and exploitation. When appeals are directed to the countries of the 'third world' to unite for their liberation from imperialist domination, it is not only or merely because the peoples of these countries are non-white. More specifically it is because these are the very countries in which colonial plunder ran rampant and in which neo-colonialism and imperialism are still directing influences.

This is not to say that it is wrong to point out that the oppressed are Black and to call upon them to organize and struggle as such. Nor is it wrong to attack the Bandas, the Jonathans, the Syngman Rhees or the Kys. These stooges have usurped power in former colonial and semi-colonial countries in which the masses fought and sacrificed for their liberation. The Bandas etc have betrayed the struggle of the masses.

JAPAN AN IMPERIALIST

The position of Japan, however, is different. In the non-white world, which has been subjugated and humiliated for centuries, Japan has been a singular exception. Japan was never colonized. On the contrary, Japan's rulers have acted as colonialists in their own right, as imperialists.

The activities of the Japanese Government in the Far East; its attacks on China; its rivalry with Czarist Russia; its de-

mands for a share of the "spoils" in Asia vis-a-vis the other imperialist powers; its position in the Second World War — all this characterises Japan as an imperialist country.

Therefore when Japan is attacked it must be from a different vantage point than the attacks made on the Bandas and people of that ilk. Like the United States, Britain, France, West Germany, etc. Japan must be attacked as an imperialist power which abets and profits from economic exploitation.

EXPLOITS SOUTHERN AFRICA

And in the Southern African context there is much to criticize Japan for. Since the world war Japanese trade with South Africa has multiplied rapidly until today it runs into millions of pounds. Japan exports to South Africa large quantities of textiles, clothing, cameras, radios, motor vehicles and so forth, and imports mainly base metals and minerals.

Iron ore exports from South Africa (including Swaziland and Lesotho) to Japan already amount to 3.7 million tons a year. Recently Dr Kruger of the S. A. Iron and Steel Corporation signed a contract to supply another 500,000 tons of iron ore; while an offer to supply a further 10 million tons a year is being studied in Japan. The discussions are being held with YAWATA, which represents all Japanese buyers. Also like other imperialist powers, Japan has no qualms about dealing with Portugal. The Japanese holding SUMITOMO has invested 18 million pounds in Mozambique. The purpose of this exercise is the exploration of iron ore deposits in the Mirrote area. It is expected that exports to Japan from here will quickly reach 5 million tons a year, the reserves being estimated at 360 million tons.

Thus, in common with other imperialist powers, Japan has a big stake in Southern Africa and has therefore an interest in maintaining the status quo.

UNDER THE BANNER OF THE ANC

The first of two articles on the struggle of South Africa's Indian community against fascist oppression. From a member of the Transvaal Indian Congress, Johannesburg.

RAILWAY SABOTAGE 5 Indians Charged

Johannesburg — Bloody and bruised, four Indian youths appeared in court today in the case concerning sabotage of a railway shed. A fifth youth who was arrested with them was unable to appear. He is in hospital having a bullet removed from his shoulder.

"I sat still in that courtroom while near me some women were crying openly. Others put on a brave face as they looked at the men in the dock. Shirish Nanabhai limped badly as he came into court and his eyes and lips were swollen. Abdulhai Jassat had been beaten on the soles of his feet and could only hobble in. Laloo Chiba, bruised and battered, stared dully in front of him, his head rigid after the electric shocks he had been subjected to. Reggie Vandeyar had his arm in a sling and was obviously in pain from his broken ribs. Indris Naidoo wasn't in court — having been shot at and beaten, he was now in hospital.

These were my friends, some my school mates. Two days ago they had been arrested for allegedly sabotaging a railway shed, and today, battered and bloody, they had been brought into court.

I was angry with all those who had beaten and tortured them, and at the system that forces young men in their prime to take to sabotage and armed resistance to obtain their freedom. And at the same time I was proud, very proud — but also humble — as one feels in the presence of courageous men who will risk their lives for their people and their ideals. In that dock, on 19 April 1963, these men stood, and with them stood the Indian people of South Africa. For they epitomised the spirit, the valour and the

suffering of the Indian community who for over a century have fought against racialist oppression in South Africa.

INDENTURED LABOUR

SUGAR EXPORTS RISE

Durban — The value of sugar exports has increased over 50 times within the last seven years, from £ 2,009 in 1857 to over £ 100,000. This increase is due largely to the introduction of coolie labour, which has also benefited the tea and coffee plantations.

INDIANS STARVING

Pietermaritzburg — Dr S. L. Kark addressing the opening session of the research section of the NUSAS congress, said that the Indian community of Durban was the most poverty-stricken community he had ever had to deal with. "How the poverty-stricken Indians of Durban survive with so little to eat is a mystery. Why does an Indian baby survive, having been born of a mother whose state of nutrition is so low that we cannot find a lower anywhere in this country?"

The Indians were first brought to South Africa as indentured labour for the Natal sugar plantations. They toiled and contributed to the wealth of the country. Yet from the earliest period they have been exploited, subjected to vicious laws, and deprived of any democratic rights.

In spite of promises and agreements between the then Government of India (British) and the Natal and later

the South African Governments, the position of Indians has steadfastly worsened.

As early as 1885 they were barred from acquiring citizenship in the Transvaal and in 1896 were deprived of the parliamentary franchise in Natal. Immigration was restricted, they were forced to live in ghettos, and had to pay a poll tax and carry registration certificates.

These were the first of many laws that have come down over the last hundred years. But from the earliest times, they have been accompanied by the fierce resistance of the Indian people.

RESISTANCE

Mahatma Gandhi came to South Africa as a lawyer in 1893. He fought for and with the people. A petition of over 10,000 signatures was organized protesting against disenfranchisement in Natal, and in 1894 the Natal Indian Congress was formed to lead the struggle of the people.

Dr Y. M. Dadoo, with his daughter Shireen, on his release from prison in 1947.



RESISTANCE TOPS 1,000

Durban — Twenty more passive resisters were arrested today bringing the total since the campaign began to over 1,000. Among those arrested were three women.

Meanwhile at the United Nations the debate on the case . . .

Thirteen years later the first Passive Resistance Movement was launched, and Indians under Gandhi's leadership went to jail rather than allow themselves to be finger-printed and 'registered'. Six years later the whole community again rose, in opposition to the poll tax and restrictions on the freedom of movement between provinces.

4,000 ON STRIKE

Newcastle — Indian workers in the coal mines here have come out on strike. They are protesting at the £ 3 tax imposed on the Indians by the Government. The mine owners are meeting today to discuss . . .

In the Newcastle coal mines 4,000 workers went on strike and on the sugar farms and tea plantations many others downed tools. More than 2,000 men, women and children marched from Newcastle to Volksrust and threatened to cross the border. In Durban and other towns shops closed and workers demonstrated in sympathy.

POLICE FIRE ON STRIKERS

Newcastle — Two more Indian workers were killed today as the police intervened in the strike at the coal mines. Clashes between the striking workers and the police now . . .

Over 2,000 people were arrested, and in an attempt to force the workers back, the police opened fire killing 9 and wounding many more. Thus on through the years we have accumulated our martyrs — protesting, striking, demonstrating — struggling



Mrs Ellapen Naicker, who served two terms of imprisonment during the 1946 Passive Resistance Campaign.

to be recognised as free citizens of South Africa.

In 1946 once more the Indian people launched a Passive Resistance campaign and over 2,000 men and women went to jail. Support and messages of solidarity came from all over the world, and the newly born United Nations considered for the first time the South African Government's breach of international agreements and conventions. But the Indians were not regarded as South Africans. To the white minority that had taken for itself all political power in South Africa, they were aliens — "unassimilable" — and hence not a permanent part of the country.

Dr G. M. Naicker being chaired by ANC Volunteers at the end of the public opening session of the 12th Annual Conference of the Natal Indian Congress.



UNITY IN ACTION

Yet, in spite of the oppression, and the repeated attempts to repatriate them to India with various inducements, few have gone — for we are third, fourth and fifth-generation South Africans. And as South Africans, the Indian people have become increasingly aware that their rights, their freedoms, could only be secured in a South Africa in which all the people were free.

A small minority, conscious that they were less harshly treated than the majority of African people, sought to maintain their privileged position. But others saw clearly that freedom was not divisible and only by uniting with the African people could real freedom come to South Africa.

In the Transvaal, prominent in the African Anti-Pass Campaign in 1944 and the heroic Miners Strike in 1946 was the name of Dr Yusuf Dadoo. And it was in him, and in those who thought like him, that the people placed their trust. In Natal, the 'nationalists' who had formed the Anti-Segregation Council under the leadership of Dr G. M. Naicker, were elected to the executive control of the Natal Indian Congress.

AFRICAN-INDIAN COLLABORATION

The Presidents of the African National Congress, the Transvaal Indian Congress and the Natal Indian Congress announced today an agreement to collab-



Group of dismissed Indian workers who went on strike at the Bata Shoe factory near Durban.

orate on matters affecting the joint interests of their communities. Doctors Xuma, Dadoo and Naicker were agreed on the need for . . .

Early in 1950, Dr Dadoo and Dr Naicker on behalf of the Indian people entered into a pact with the late Dr A. B. Xuma (then President-General of the African National Congress) to work together in the fight against the white supremacists.

The Dadoo-Xuma-Naicker Pact had given formal recognition to the new consciousness of the non-European peoples, but it was in the Defiance Campaign launched in 1952 that the unity of the African and Indian masses was demonstrated when over 8,000 volunteers obeyed the call of the African National Congress and the S. A. Indian Congress, and went to jail defying the unjust laws that applied to the non-white peoples of South Africa.

MORE ARRESTS

A group of 15 Africans and Indians were arrested in Johannesburg today. Amongst those arrested was a mother of 5 children. These arrests bring the total to over 8,000 since the Defiance Campaign Against Unjust Laws was launched in June by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress. The Commissioner of Police stated . . .

The laws that applied to the Africans and Indians were often different in

the letter — but their aim was the same: to preserve and maintain the privileges of the white minority. And the effect of the laws was the same. The homelessness of the African and Indian families was no different because one arose from the Land Act and the other from the Group Areas Act. The starvation wages of the African miners on the Rand and the Indian sugar workers in Natal were legalised by different statutes, but the suffering of the people was the same.

POLICE DOGS DISPERSE WOMEN

Pretoria — Police dogs were used to disperse hundreds of Indian women demonstrating outside the Union Buildings. The women said they had no confidence in the Minister for Indian Affairs and had asked to see the Prime Minister. The gates leading to the Cabinet Ministers' offices were barred and guarded, but many of the women managed to evade the police and throw their letters through the bars. Police dogs were used to force them back and . . .

UNITY EXPANDS

The Congress Alliance formed in March 1954, which extended the co-operation between the African and Indian Congresses by including the Coloured Peoples' Congress, the South African Congress of Trade Unions and the Congress of Democrats, formalized the unity of all sections of the South African population who believed in a free South Africa.

A year later, the historic Freedom Charter recognised their common heri-

tage and destiny: "South Africa belongs to all who live in it, black and white, and no government can justly claim authority unless it is based on the will of all the people."

From Kliptown, a non-white township in Johannesburg, on that day — 26 June 1955 — the Congress of the People proclaimed: "Let all who love their people and their country now say, as we say here: These freedoms we will fight for, side by side, throughout our lives, until we have won our liberty."

INCREASED OPPRESSION

But aware that the unity of the people now posed a serious threat, the government continued on its path of increased oppression. Police raids, new laws, arrests, bannings and other new restrictions followed.

In December 1956, 156 people from the Congress Alliance were arrested on a charge of 'treason'. Five years later the last of these 156 was found Not Guilty and released.

In those five years much had happened. Protests, boycotts, passive resistance and stay-at-homes continued. And on the government side new draconian laws were constantly added to the statute book. Police violence, long a feature of our lives, increased and became more and more open, and newer forms of repression were devised.

At the same time the people were seeking for new forms of resistance.

In the *Passive Resistance* campaigns of 1907 and 1913, Thumby Naidoo stood steadfastly beside Mahatma Gandhi. On 18 May 1964, his grandson Indris was sentenced to ten years imprisonment for "active resistance" to the South African regime.

For the Indian people, too, a new chapter had opened.

(To be continued)

LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

A Matter of Justice

The following letter appeared in the *Natal Mercury*, a newspaper in Durban, South Africa.

Sir,

Report in a local evening paper dated December 1, heading: "Guilty of Assault on Nine-Year-Old Girl."

The case in question: The rape of an African child by a 34-year-old married European.

The sentence: Three years imprisonment, with two years conditionally suspended.

Summing up by judge: "It was clear that — was a victim to the cause of human flesh."

Report *Natal Mercury* dated December 2, heading: "To Die For Assault on Girl." The case in question: The rape of a 17-year-old European girl by a 28-year-old African.

The sentence: Death.

Question: What I and thousands of fairminded humane people of all races would like to know, is whether there are different laws and penalties for each and every race in this country? Surely the crime should meet the same penalty regardless of race? Rape is rape. There is no White rape or Black rape. There is only "an eye for an eye" — and justice.

— Mrs M. Taylor

Apartheid in Motion

The South African Cabinet has decided that apartheid should be introduced when personal belongings of Public Servants are transported by cartage contractors when such Public Servants are transferred or appointed.

According to a Public Service Commission circular published in *The Public Servant* (journal of the Public Servants' Association), an investigation showed that during the past two years non-white cartage contractors had on numerous occasions transported furni-

ture of white officials who had been transferred.

The matter was considered by the Cabinet, which decided that when tenders were accepted for services to a particular population group, preference should be given to tenderers of the same population group.

Race Witch Hunt

Coloureds are claiming that a "witch-hunt" is being conducted among the families of the Coloured townships surrounding Johannesburg to root out Indians and Africans living among them. (Editor's note: — Coloureds are people of mixed race and officially classified in South Africa as non-White; the regime's policy however is to separate all race groups from each other.)

According to Mr James Alexander, a member of the Council for Coloured Affairs and organiser of the National Coloured People's Party, the campaign had resulted from talks between his party and the Race Classification Board.

He said: "The Federal Coloured People's Party first raised the matter. We have taken it further, and I am aware that a campaign has now been launched to find Indian and African people in the Coloured Townships and have them removed to their own areas."

In a press interview, Mrs Dorothy Vania, a widow with seven children, said that she had been visited by a man she knew to be a member of the security police.

Mrs Vania, a seamstress and well-known social worker in Riverlea Township, gave the following account of the interview.

Detective: "Where is your husband?"

Mrs Vania: "He is dead."

"Your husband was an Indian, wasn't he?"

"If that is so I cannot understand why he was issued with a Coloured identity card."

"That means your children are Indian."

"What is the purpose of these questions? Does this mean I am going to be separated from my children?"

"I don't know, it's something to do with classification and you will have to report to the Newlands Police Station tomorrow morning."

Mrs Vania said that, feeling humiliated and full of trepidation, she went to the police station and met there three other families in a similar plight.

She was questioned by a white policeman in the charge office.

He first asked: "What are you?"

She replied that she was Coloured; she had then been asked a string of questions similar to those that had been put by the detective on the previous day.

At the end of the interview she had again asked whether she was to be separated from her children.

The policeman had replied: "You can go now, but you'll be hearing from us." Mrs Vania holds a Coloured identity card. Her late husband, whose mother was Coloured and whose father was Indian, had also held a Coloured identity card. Both her parents were also Coloured.

Mr Joe Williams, a 38-year-old garage proprietor, said he had been subjected to similar interviews over a period of many months.

"About once every three months I receive a visit from a member of the Security Branch. I am told to report to the police station."

Mr Williams said that five months ago he and his wife had their Coloured identity cards taken away from them by a Special Branch Coloured detective. Ever since that time he had had to report to the Newlands police station periodically.

A Department of Coloured Affairs spokesman told the press that he did not know of the 'screening' in the townships, but added that if Africans and Indians were living in Coloured areas they should be removed in terms of the Group Areas Act.

Horrifying Township Conditions

Durban women were horrified when they inspected Chatsworth Indian Township and saw the living conditions of thousands of men, women and children, reports a Durban paper.

At a meeting Dr K. Goonam, a medical practitioner, stated that a team of women had seen a large number of men, women and children living under starvation.

On enquiries it was found out that the children were having green mangoes for breakfast and in tattered and torn clothes going to school. It was also observed that many were using bricks for their pillows. The doctor stated that the human drama in Chatsworth was unbearable.

Coloured Tug Crews 'Temporary'

Acute shortage of harbour staff has forced the South African Railways to accept non-White crews on harbour tugs in Durban and Walvis Bay.

Harbour staff in Cape Town have asked why a similar measure could not be introduced in Cape Town docks to alleviate a critical staff shortage which is getting worse each month. The Railways have stated that the change-over to Coloured crews in Durban and Walvis Bay is only a temporary measure and that as soon as the staff shortage in these areas improves, White crews will be reinstated.

In Table Bay, however, the position on the tugs has become so serious that it is affecting the operations mobility of harbour craft. On Christmas Day one tug was put out of action because of crew shortages.

Non-White Cabaret Ban

Non-white entertainers and Durban hoteliers will be hit by the new Liquor Licencing Board regulations announced earlier this year, which will prohibit non-Whites from performing before Whites on licensed premises.

All classified hotels must now have White entertainers. After July 1, police will carry out inspections at non-classified hotels to see that they are complying with the new regulations.

Durban has five hotels where non-White bands and vocalists have been entertaining for years. They have proved real "crowd-pullers," according to managers, who say that custom will slacken when they come under the ban.

Trade Union Bans Africans

A special conference of the Trade Union Council of South Africa (Tucsa) has decided in Johannesburg that affiliate membership of the Council should be confined to trade unions registered under the Industrial Conciliation Act. As African unions are not eligible for registration, this means that they will be excluded from Tucsa.

The resolution excluding African unions is a victory for the right-wing white unions, which fear that member-

ship of Tucsa and assistance with organization will eventually open the door for a trade-union take-over by African unions.

The move follows a warning by the Minister of Labour, Mr Viljoen, not to organize African trade unions because it is not Government policy to recognize them under the Industrial Conciliation Act.

Non-White Envoys and Apartheid

The question of how non-white diplomats were to be treated in South Africa — where their children would go to school or whether they would be allowed to swim in White pools, for instance — would be handled with discretion by the Government, Mr Maree, the Minister of Community Development, said recently.

With regard to the arrival of non-White diplomats in South Africa, he said: "It is not necessary to ask where non-White diplomats' children will go to school or where they will swim. These matters are arranged by mutual discussion. In any event, we have had non-White diplomats here before . . . "There are now representatives of Japan, Nationalist China (Taiwan), South Korea and others — and there have never been incidents," he said.

S. A. Literature Eroded

South African literature, especially Afrikaans (Boer) literature, is being eroded and forced to work within a framework set up by the State and the Church, according to the Afrikaans author, W. A. de Klerk.

Since the introduction of the Publications and Entertainments Act in 1963, Afrikaans literature particularly has been hit by censorship, stated Mr de Klerk in the December issue of *Contrast*, a South African literary magazine.

In 1963 Mr de Klerk was one of the leaders in the fight against the Act, which he warned at the time would stifle and destroy free literature. Now, the censorship machinery has done just that.

In a lengthy analysis of censorship in the South African literary scene, Mr de Klerk says that the Government has set up the "Idea of the importance of the State and the Church." Writers are asked to sublimate their free thought to this "Idea."

He says of the Publications and Entertainments Act: "The Act is not so much concerned with rooting out sex as with offending the Idea. It is unthinkable that this society, and these people, should be held up to ridicule or have their moving spirit (the Idea) questioned."

"This is but a small portion of the story. The greater part we shall never hear about. For the most subtle, the most damaging censorship is not imposed by the Publications Act, but begins with the author himself. This happens when he has been so conditioned by things around him that he too must hesitate, look warily around him and then over his shoulder."

"The main consideration is — at least as far as Afrikaans authors are concerned — what the inner circles would say if writers were to tell the truth. Ultimately there is a general capitulation to the Idea. Approaches become timid, clever, and in the end evasive" he says.

Mr de Klerk quotes as an example a recent interview given by an Afrikaans novelist who told the Press about himself. He was not interested in the realistic novel, he said. He was not interested in life as it was. He was trying to convey the tensions between people and the tensions of present-day society. He was not interested in the racial problem. If there was a tragic situation today, it was the White man's in Africa. He did not regard the racial question as being important. He was interested in human individuals, not in groups.

Mr de Klerk comments: "The most arresting part of this interview is the acknowledgement of a certain ambivalence. This is precisely what censorship has done to many talented Afrikaans authors. It has made them divided against themselves."

ANC NEWS BROADCASTS

The first ANC news-talk on Radio Tanzania (External Service) was broadcast on 2 January this year. These news-talks will be broadcast on every alternate day as from the 2nd January 1968, at 8 o'clock in the evening (South Africa time), on the following metre bands: —

19.45 metres or 15435 K/Cs

In our last issue we analysed the way in which the Republic of South Africa contravenes, article by article, the provisions of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. This month Sechaba surveys the situation prevailing in

SOUTH WEST AFRICA IN HUMAN RIGHTS YEAR

"With each day that passes, the South African Government is tightening its stranglehold on South West Africa, depriving its people of their wealth and their right and ability to develop into a free and self-supporting nation." — International Commission of Jurists: Apartheid in South Africa and South West Africa.

The recent sabotage trial held in the old Synagogue is the newest and most outstanding violation of Human Rights in relation to the citizens of South West Africa. The 'Terrorism Act' under which the case was brought was hurried through the South African parliament with the express purpose of prosecuting these South West Africans. The legislation was 'extended' to cover their country and was made retrospective to facilitate the Government's task. After being held in solitary confinement, they were taken away to a strange country (South Africa) where they had no access to their families or to people who spoke their language; and, in a preposterous mockery of justice, were tried and sentenced. (Sechaba will report this infamous trial fully in a later issue — Editor)

"MANDATE" IGNORED

Flouting world opinion, South Africa hardly even pretends any longer to be exercising the 'Mandate' given her by the League of Nations 45 years ago. She has, to all intents and purposes, incorporated the territory into the Republic — and its conditions of remoteness together with intensive security precautions enable her to operate in it with even more naked brutality and crude greed than she uses in oppressing her own citizens.

"The attention that has been focused on the legal and technical arguments involved," states the ICJ paper quoted above, "has pushed into further obscurity the actual social and material conditions of the non-white majority of the people of South West Africa, who, during 45 years of South African rule, have been reduced systematically to a state of degradation and misery, of which most of the world remains unaware."

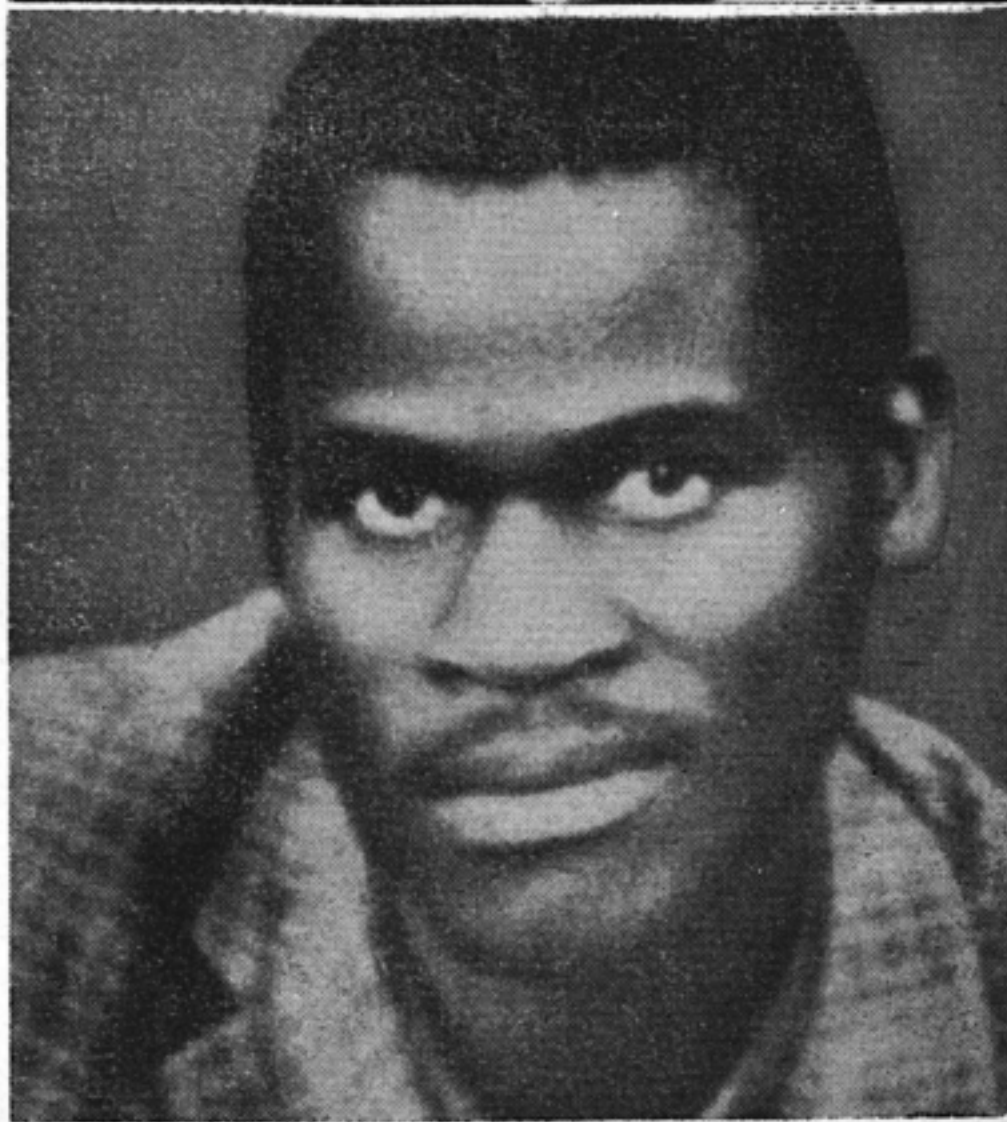
It is not the purpose of this article to examine the international aspect of the South West Africa question, but rather to examine how the present conditions of the territory's inhabitants fit in with the requirements of the Universal Declaration.

"ALL HUMAN BEINGS ARE BORN FREE AND EQUAL IN DIGNITY AND RIGHTS"

It hardly needs to be stated that Article 1 of the Universal Declaration is totally violated in SWA, as in South Africa, by the discrimination which is basic to the apartheid structure. On that foundation rests the whole mass of entrenched, legalised denials of human rights.

Perhaps the main fields in which these denials operate are those relating to Entry and Residence, Labour, Land Distribution, Education and Social Conditions. Let us examine how the S. A. government exercises its 'mandate' to bring to South West's inhabitants "the sacred trust of civilization."

Top: Mr Jason Daniel Mutumbulua, National Secretary for External Affairs of Swapo (South West African People's Organization). Lower: Mr John Guaniipupu Otto, Acting Secretary-General of SWAPO. Both men were among the 35 South West Africans tried in Pretoria for their belief in the freedom of their country.



ENTRY & RESIDENCE

The right to "freedom of movement and residence" affirmed in Article 13 of the UDHR is denied to the non-white population of South West Africa. A complex and rigid system of regulations, constantly augmented from the formulation of the *Vagrancy Proclamation of 1920* to the *Regulations for the Registration, Control and Protection of Natives in Proclaimed Areas (1955)* enforce a pass system designed to keep the African population completely under the white man's thumb, both in the Police Zones and in the Tribal Areas.

LABOUR

The report of the *UN-ILO Ad Hoc Committee on Forced Labour (1953)* concluded that the organization of the labour force in SWA was totally and exclusively directed at serving the interests of the white minority: "The ultimate consequence of the system is to *compel* the Native population to contribute, by their labour, to the implementation of the economy."

The legislation is based on the *Vagrancy Proclamation of 1920*, which states: "Any person found wandering abroad and having no visible lawful means or insufficient lawful means of support, who . . . shall not give a good and satisfactory account of himself, shall be deemed . . . to be an idle and disorderly person." On conviction such a person can be sentenced to 12 months' imprisonment, with or without hard labour, spare diet and solitary confinement.

Official permission is required if a non-white wishes to stay in a town for more than 72 hours, and a permit must be obtained if such a person wishes to seek work. However, such a permit will not be issued "except in accordance with regulations which the Administration may issue for the purposes of maintaining a labour quota for a particular urban area."

The above report states: "The system of recruitment of African workers operating in South West Africa today is unique in its organized and efficient application of conditions that are akin to slavery."

Recruited under contract in the Tribal Areas, the male population is classified into working categories A, B and C, suitable respectively for work in the mines, on land and on European farms. These letters are branded on the workers' clothes — which they have to provide themselves. Once under contract, they can in no circumstances leave work and are forbidden to take part in any kind of trade union activities.

Their families may not go with them. They are paid a minimum wage of one shilling and ninepence a day for each of the first 155 days, and two shillings a day for the rest. The South African Government limits the amount of money that may be saved by a worker over a period of two years to £ 150. Labourers are not recruited again for the same work in the same area or factory in order that they may not acquire skills.

LAND DISTRIBUTION

The Africans who outnumber the Whites by 7 to 1 own only half the amount of land that is owned by Whites. This is the poorest land in the territory — and the *Odendaal Commission* specifically reserves the bulk of the habitable land for Whites and dots small 'Bantustans' in the eroded areas. The first of these 'Bantustans' has been created in the Ovamboland Reserve and has been sealed off from the outside world.

EDUCATION

If the recommendations of the *Odendaal Commission* are implemented, each community will have to bear the financial responsibility for its own children's education — a deliberate penalizing of the poor.

In 1962 only 0.3% of African children were in secondary classes which do not go beyond Standard Six. No technical or university education is available.

During 1964 — 65, money for education was allocated thus: —

White children	£ 1,657,983
African children	£ 399,767
Coloured children	£ 336,956

When one considers the relevant population figures, the full enormity of these allocations becomes apparent.

WELFARE

The South African Government refuses to give figures on health and mortality rates in South West Africa to the United Nations.

The *Odendaal Report* states: "In the case of most non-white population groups who adhere to their traditional way of life, no reference can be made to organized welfare services, since such organizations do not exist." This provides as clear a statement of the regime's attitude to its "sacred trust" as is needed.

POLITICAL POWER

Africans do not possess even the most rudimentary political power, and have no participation at all in the making of the laws which govern their lives completely and which carry rigid sanctions. All independent attempts at political organization are forcibly suppressed. No intention to change this situation has ever been manifested by the South African Government.

In Human Rights Year, all possible types of international pressure must be used to bring to the attention of the United Nations the plight of the oppressed people of South West Africa, enslaved by the South African regime. The ANC extends its fraternal greetings to the heroic citizens of the territory who are suffering for their attempts to obtain basic rights and liberties.

Nuremberg Trial for South Africa Urged

At the UN recently, Guinea suggested that the United Nations should organize another Nuremberg Trial to punish South African judges in the trial of 37 South West Africans in Pretoria.

Ambassador Achkar Marof told the General Assembly that the illegal trial was "against the United Nations and the crimes which result from this trial will be crimes against the United Nations."

"We suggest that the UN compile a complete list of all South African officials, judges and possible executioners involved in this trial — and if the 37 men are executed, we suggest the UN organize another Nuremberg trial to try these criminals for crimes against humanity."

Achkar Marof spoke as the Assembly prepared to vote on measures that would force South Africa to yield authority over South West Africa, such as possible sanctions by the Security Council.

The General Assembly voted almost unanimously in October 1966 to terminate South Africa's mandate in South West Africa, and in 1967 set up a UN council for the territory. The South African Government termed the council illegal and refused to deal with it.

Ambassador Marof suggested that the Council "send a delegation to South West Africa and if South African authorities refuse it access to the territory, the Government of neighbouring Zambia should be asked to permit the Council to operate out of its territory."

FRELIMO FIGHTS FOR HUMAN RIGHTS

by Eduardo Mondlane,
President of the Mozambique Liberation Front

(This article appeared originally in "WAY")

"All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights. They are endowed with reason and conscience and should act towards one another in a spirit of brotherhood." This is the first of 30 Articles which constitute the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, and it is sad to reflect that, 20 years later, it is impossible to see any of them upheld anywhere in Southern Africa. In Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, South West Africa and South Africa anyone can expect persecution, discrimination and, if he shows any signs of objecting to this treatment, violence and imprisonment. The result of this has been that many of us have been obliged after all attempts at negotiation have failed, to take up arms in the struggle to give the masses of the people their basic human rights.

The Mozambique Liberation Front was founded in 1962, and the armed struggle began on 25 September 1964. Let me explain in some detail exactly what we are facing in our fight against Portuguese colonialism, and what it is we are fighting for.

PORTUGUESE CONTROL

Since 1898 Portugal has been in virtual control of Mozambique. This control has been enforced through the breaking up of our traditional kingdoms and their replacement by carefully selected chiefs, who work under Portuguese administrators to carry out the political, social and economic policies of Portugal.

Political participation in the affairs of our country has been denied us; we have also been denied the right to education and other facilities of a free society, and economically the right to free choice of employment and just and favourable conditions of work have been replaced by what can only be called a system of slave labour.

Because of unfair working laws and conditions many Mozambicans left the country to work in the mines of South Africa and Rhodesia. In order to cash in on this the Portuguese Government entered into a series of agreements with these white racist countries, aimed at the maximum benefit of the colonialist to the detriment of the African. Laws exist which force Africans to employ themselves in European homes, farms or plantations, or for the government or in industry — or face arrest and forced labour, which the Portuguese cynically call *contrato voluntario*. With no bargaining power Mozambicans are thus forced to accept jobs at well below subsistence wages.

"OVERSEAS PROVINCES"

Although the Portuguese concept of an "Overseas Province" is that it is part of the mother country, and therefore its inhabitants should have rights equal to any Portuguese, they



Mozambican women in the liberated zones of Mozambique work hard in the present difficult conditions for the freedom they know is coming.

were sufficiently nervous of the possibility of the Africans in Mozambique being on equal terms educationally and technically that their policies have resulted in a 95% illiteracy rate among Africans. In 1942, in response to pressure from the white settlers who visualized their source of cheap labour vanishing into schools, the Portuguese Government signed the Missionary Agreement, which handed over the entire responsibility for the education of Africans in Mozambique, Angola and so-called Portuguese Guinea to the Roman Catholic missions.

The Portuguese colonies are the only ones in which the state abdicated all responsibility for the education of the majority of the people — and as a result it was not until 1960 that a black African was able to obtain a secondary school-leaving certificate in Mozambique. Even today there are not more than ten black Africans who have completed secondary education there. So much for Portuguese observance of Article 26 of the Declaration of Human Rights, which begins: "Everyone has the right to education."

In view of all this it may seem surprising that Portugal is still a member of the United Nations. When she was admitted in 1955 she said she had non-self-governing territories overseas under her control, and this statement was unfortunately accepted.

Since then resolutions have been passed and continue to be passed condemning her policies, but nothing positive has been done. Portugal, as a member of NATO and EFTA, receives aid from such Western powers as England, America,



School in a liberated zone in Angola . . . a job South African students are also preparing to do (see also next article).

France and West Germany, whose economic interests are also bound up with hers, and they are therefore unwilling to exert pressure in the form of sanctions and other concrete ways, to show their distaste for Portugal's inhuman and fascist colonial policy.

Portugal herself is of course an underdeveloped country with a complete lack of civil liberties for the people. So no vociferous protest from within the country itself is to be expected against a policy which involves more than 60,000 Portuguese soldiers, many of them conscripts, in Mozambique alone, and a rapidly increasing military budget (between January and May 1967 the war cost the Portuguese government about £ 7,500,000).

SOUTHERN AFRICA LINKED

One word on the economic situation in Southern Africa. It must be remembered that business interests from almost every western country are involved in this part of Africa, benefiting from the economic exploitation of the African. The pressure exerted on the respective governments is considerable, and could be considered as one of the decisive factors in the lukewarm stand taken by some governments on these issues of human rights.

The fate of the whole of Southern Africa is inextricably linked, and this fact is also realised. With the independence of Mozambique, for example, the Smith regime in Rhodesia will be cut off from their main outlets to the sea through Lourenco Marques and Beira, and will be left with only South Africa open to them for export and import. Fully aware of this, the progress of the liberation struggle is being anxiously watched from further south, and as it gains ground pressure mounts in the newspapers to give material support to Portugal in Mozambique, as South Africa has recently done in Rhodesia when she sent men to help Smith suppress the freedom fighters.

An unholy alliance is being formed with the aim of the complete suppression of freedom in Southern Africa; and against this there is no choice but recourse to arms to defend ourselves and gain our rights.

FRELIMO FORCES AND PROGRAMME

The Mozambique Liberation Front (Frelimo) believes in the right of each individual, regardless of race, colour, religion or birth to freely choose their own leaders, to participate in government, to have the opportunity of education, and of social, economic and cultural development.

What are we doing to achieve these aims?

Frelimo's fighting forces have grown from less than 200 guerillas in September 1964 to an army of over 8,000 trained and equipped men and women. Fighting is taking place in a little more than one-third of the country, and will expand southwards as the Portuguese retreat. The two northern provinces of Cabo Delgado and Niassa are virtually under Frelimo control, and it is here that we are beginning to implement the policies which will eventually be those of free and independent Mozambique.

In local administration for the first time the people are having a say in their own future. We make use of traditional African experience, marrying it to modern democratic principles, and in spite of the war conditions under which the government operates, the administration adjudicates in local disputes and handles trade and agriculture. Fields are worked co-operatively, and excess produce is exported in exchange for such essential goods as salt, textiles, simple farming tools etc. During 1966 cashew nuts, ground nuts and sunflower seed were the chief exports.

As the Portuguese administration has completely abandoned these areas, and all commercial and trading establishments run by Europeans and Asians were closed, it was incumbent on Frelimo to set up the machinery for supplying the people

with essentials, and this is now being carried out with the direct participation of all concerned. Although it is only a fraction of the freedom they will have, it is still a new experience for most of the population.

Another major responsibility of the administration is the care of the hundreds of thousands of men, women and children who have left their traditional homes to escape Portuguese reprisals, and now live in the forests and on the grassy plateaux. These people are displaced, but because they have chosen to stay in their own country rather than flee across the border they are not eligible for assistance from any of the official refugee organizations. They are therefore entirely dependent on what help we can give them for welfare services, health, education, and the maintenance of law and order.

EDUCATION AND HEALTH

At the founding Congress of Frelimo in September 1962, it was decided that education should be placed on the same priority level as political organization and military action. One result of this was the birth of the Mozambique Institute in Dar es Salaam, Tanzania, where young Mozambicans are prepared for higher education and technical training. There are now 130 students at the school, and it is the center of a large network of programmes which include primary schools in the refugee camps of Tanzania, a nurses' training course, and an administrative training course, and will shortly launch a primary teachers' training course.

Inside Mozambique itself there are more than 15,000 children in primary schools in the liberated areas receiving at least an elementary education. Although these schools are still rudimentary, they are more than has been known before, and are the first step towards the rights of education, and of the ability to have independent thought.

Another factor essential to the free development of the individual is the freedom from sickness and ill health. Portuguese medical services for Africans were always minimal, and are now non-existent in the liberated and semi-liberated

areas. Frelimo has replaced this with a series of health centres, manned by dedicated Mozambicans, where members of the local population can be treated, as well as those wounded in fighting. Graduates from two courses of training in Dar es Salaam have already returned to work in the clinics, and they will shortly be joined by a third group. With a shortage of trained personnel and the difficulties of importing drugs, health care is a constant struggle, but it is happening. An intensive campaign of smallpox vaccination is being carried out, for instance, under which already more than 100,000 people have been vaccinated, and statistical data is being collected on which future plans will be based.

THE LONG STRUGGLE

There are now more than 800,000 Mozambicans, living in an area of 75,000 square miles, who are beginning to taste the first fruits of freedom under the guidance and care of FRELIMO. This is only a beginning, and our struggle will not be over until the whole of Mozambique is liberated. The people are now fighting to free themselves from the shackles of colonialism and economic imperialism, and are building by their own efforts a new and democratic society in which personal merit and hard work, and not the birth or colour of an individual, are the qualities upon which society can depend.

Mozambique will be governed in the best interests of all the people. Under Frelimo the government will endeavour to establish schools for all children, medical services for all people, and to help the people to produce sufficiently to pay for these and maintain a decent standard of living.

The people of Mozambique know that the struggle will be long and hard, and will not end with independence, but they also know that the ends are worth fighting for. Our battle is part of a larger one being fought all over Southern Africa, and in every other part of the world where the human rights of the people are being suppressed; but we are sure that the voice of the oppressed peoples will be heard. We have not only the will and determination to win, but also the certainty of eventual victory.

OUR ROLE AS STUDENTS

Edited version of a statement to progressive students' organizations, issued by SIPHO MBENQWANE and THABO MBEKI, External Representatives of the AFRICAN STUDENTS ASSOCIATION (SOUTH AFRICA)

The fact of discrimination in education on racial grounds in South Africa is now generally known. The structure and content of education from primary school up to university are determined on racial grounds.

At the primary and secondary stages, there is absolutely no mixing of the different races. At university level, what non-racial institutions there were have almost completely been denuded of the non-white student population. The latter are now in ethnically-exclusive "bush colleges."

Education for the white child is free and compulsory up to the age of 16. For the rest of the population it is not, the poorest section of the population being made to pay for educating its children.

In ten years of 'Bantu Education', the picture is one of unrelieved depression of African education.

In 1963, only 1,040 African children reached matriculation. This is out of 211,620 who had started their schooling in 1951.

Of 2,000,000 Africans in school in 1965, only 3% were in High Schools. 75% leave school before completing their primary education.

(Editor's Note: — Detailed figures of white and non-white education were published in our issue Vol. 1, No. 9.)

The guidelines of 'Bantu Education' are: "There must be unquestioning acceptance, by the white man of his superiority, by the Afrikaner (Boer) of his right to leadership, by the

non-white races of their duty to serve." (Brian Bunting: *The Rise of the South African Reich*)

This then is part of the South African regime's battery of weapons of oppression. To the extent that the African people suffer disabilities as a national group, so are these disabilities reflected, in their entirety, among the African students.

THE CIVIL WAR

Among the non-white people of South Africa, the first and major demand is for a democratic non-racial society.

The intransigence of the various white Southern African governments in the face of these demands has finally produced the conditions of civil war that now exist in South Africa. Already African guerilla fighters from Rhodesia and South Africa have had serious armed clashes with the Smith/Vorster troops in Rhodesia. The battle has been on since 13 August 1967.

In these conditions, the nature of the student movement takes on particular forms and a particular content.

1 Firstly, its demands have to accord entirely with those of the mass of the people. Those demands have as their basis the need for revolutionary change in South Africa.

2 Secondly, since a state of civil war exists, clandestine forms of organization have to be adopted. This carries with it all the attendant dangers of police informers, difficulties of communication, arrests and so on. Though the organization of the African students, the African Students' Association (ASA), is not banned, it is forced to work in conditions of illegality. Much of its leadership is at present in jail or under restriction. The same applies to other activists at the local level. Police harassment is continuous, and, by government edict, certain people are now not allowed to hold official positions in ASA. The first President of ASA, Ernest Galo, died while a student at the University of Natal, because he could not get to a hospital in time as the police were trying to hunt him down.

3 Thirdly, the character of the work must be such that it increases the participation of the students in the struggle to free themselves and their people from the shackles of tyranny. To ask the students to do anything else would be asking them to abandon their people; it would be asking them to disrupt the unity achieved by the mass of the people against a racist tyranny. Such work assumes a varied character, from undertaking straightforward political work among the people, to running literacy campaigns in the slums of the urban areas and in the rural areas. Such work falls properly within the sphere of a student movement in conditions where the fundamental social question is one of national oppression and the denial of all rights, including educational rights, to the majority of the people.

4 The fourth feature is that the student movement has to be actively concerned with the question of national reconstruction. To this end, people have to be trained to take part in the administration of the liberated areas. (Already in Mozambique, FRELIMO students are participating in educational, medical, agricultural and other programmes started by FRELIMO in the liberated areas.) In South Africa this stage has not yet been reached. Nevertheless, preparations have to be made now. Equally, when the whole country has been freed, it will still remain the task of the students to carry through all programmes decided on by the popular government.

5 In the end, this stage will be reached after a long and violent struggle. Thus the first task of the student movement must be to supply the militants who will take part in the armed struggle. The task of carrying arms falls particularly on the shoulders of the youth. It is in alliance with

the working youth that the students can best be able to carry this task through.

THE GENERAL STRIKE

Guided by some of these principles, the African students were, in 1961, to demonstrate their position in, and their leadership of, the student movement in South Africa. In May of that year they participated in a general strike called for three days. The strike, called by many African leaders, with Nelson Mandela at their head, demonstrated the rejection by the overwhelming majority of the African and non-white people of a Republic decided on by the White minority. It was then that the African students adopted the slogan, together with the rest of the majority: "Amandla Ngawethu! Maatla ke a Rona! Power to the People!" Now, these students are fighting to seize power from the racist minority.

Students who participated came from Newell High School in Port Elizabeth, Langa High in Cape Town, Kilnerton in Pretoria, the Indian High School in Johannesburg, Inanda in Durban, Lovedale and Healdtown in Alice and Fort Beaufort respectively, St John's in Umtata, Bochabela in Bloemfontein, and of course the University College of Fort Hare and the non-white section of the University of Natal. It is these student activists among others who today are shut up in the jails and are banned, and their organization almost completely driven underground by police action.

THE STUDENTS FIGHT

These students are largely African. It is they who have broken with the past, a past in which commitment to the struggle for democratic rights was equivocal, a past that stressed propaganda gains to the detriment of consistent building and organization.

It is, after all, at these students that racial oppression is aimed. They have, therefore, decided to stand up and fight. It is for this reason that they must take the leadership of the whole progressive student movement. They continually struggle against the forces of racism (represented in the student movement in South Africa by the Afrikaanse Studentebond). They welcome any assistance given by progressive students among the whites. They continuously encourage these white students to fall in with the African people — in the final analysis, to be prepared to die in the struggle against a racist tyranny, as the African and other non-white students in South Africa are committed to doing.

Even before this stage was reached, strike action was regularly resorted to by the African and non-white students. Thus it was that Benson Dyantyi could write: —

"Whith the security of the whole nation and an urge to see a change for the best, there will always be these (school) revolts and more especially under Bantu Education the situation will be ugly, until the Bantu Education Department will find itself closing the schools, instead of circulating black lists, which the students regard as a roll of honour."

Further on Dyantyi wrote: —

"Our High School students occupy the position of universities in other countries in the war for liberation." (*From 'Fighting Talk', October 1961*)

CALL FOR SOLIDARITY

It is in solidarity with them in this protracted war of liberation that the African students in South Africa have called on the progressive student movement internationally to undertake certain tasks.

One of these is the provision of scholarships. In this way students the world over can participate in our educational programme against racism and for democratic reconstruction. Students are further asked to acquaint themselves with the literature of the resistance movement in South Africa as led by the African National Congress, so as to be able to undertake informed solidarity action, in the form of demonstrations and so on.

Further, students are asked to isolate racist South Africa by not taking academic posts there, nor participating in exchange programmes, nor fraternising in sport with racially exclusive teams, and so on. The international student

movement must unite in total opposition to apartheid and for the total isolation and final liquidation of the racists. The more widespread and the more consistent the solidarity support rendered by students, the shorter will be the struggle in South Africa, and the sooner will conditions be created which can lead to the establishment of a democratic and popular education system in South Africa.

Thus it is that the African students in the vanguard of the student movement in South Africa persistently demand solidarity support from their fellow students in the rest of the world: students who, they are convinced, cherish democracy as much as they themselves do.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

HEART TRANSPLANTS — AN OPINION

Dear Sir,

Again the Republic of South Africa is in the news. This time Dr Chris Barnard is responsible. He put a new heart into Washkansky and after only 18 days the man died of pneumonia. A few weeks later Dr Barnard did it again. This time the "donor" was a Coloured man named Clive Haupt.

Many people have wondered, I am sure, how these "historical" transplant operations came to be done in a police state like South Africa, of all countries.

It is true that human life in South Africa (especially that of Non-Whites) is not as important as in other countries — South Africa, where people are still murdered both physically and spiritually every day, where people undergo torture sessions, where people are still suddenly cut off from their work, social life and friends by being restricted or put under house arrest or banished.

These heart transplant operations are not only dangerous but morally and ethically wrong. When can a patient be certified dead? When his heart stops beating? Medical science has made it possible to revive artificially a heart which has stopped.

Clive Haupt, a 24-year-old Coloured (a person of mixed race, officially classified as non-white), collapsed after a brain haemorrhage, so we are told. Before his heart could stop beating, he was removed from the inferior non-white wing of the Groote Schuur Hospital to the modern, well-equipped White wing. The reason for this was that the White doctors regarded him as a possible "donor" to Dr Blaiberg, whose heart had given out.

For seven hours the poor man was subjected to tests which proved that his "black" heart could be given to critically ill Blaiberg. After that, to Barnard and his famous team Clive Haupt's life was worthless. Finally Mr Haupt was pronounced dead and his heart went into Dr Blaiberg.

It is important to note that apartheid was temporarily forgotten. Forgotten also was the fact that Blood Banks in South Africa strictly separate blood donated by Whites and

by Non-Whites. Once again this has proved that apartheid is a myth created by the fascists to oppress brutally the non-whites of South Africa. Dr Barnard proved (unintentionally of course) that a black man's heart, like its owner, is as good as any white man's.

Mr Haupt's widow, though she did not consent to her husband's heart being donated, was given £ 30 by the Mayor of Cape Town for her pains.

Some people, probably for lack of something to say, have been spreading false rumours that Barnard and his team have bridged racial barriers by this act. And it is further said that this is a sign that apartheid is being relaxed. All this is not only pure nonsense but dangerous and misleading. Fascist Vorster can and will never do such a thing. In any case the oppressed people of South Africa are not interested in a "relaxed" apartheid; our historical duty is to wipe out apartheid and its creators completely. And let no one doubt that this duty will be carried out!

Dr Barnard has recently announced that his next heart transplant patient will be an African. It is very doubtful whether Barnard earnestly wants to help the African majority or if he merely wants more guinea-pigs. It can be asserted that the main group to benefit from heart transplants in the future will undoubtedly be the small white minority. If Barnard's genuine aim is to help Africans, he could begin at least by helping to stop the murdering, imprisoning and humiliation of Africans that goes on in our country day in and day out. All we can see in his statement is a cheap publicity stunt on the part of Dr Barnard, not any concern for the toiling masses in South Africa.

Should Dr Barnard find his African guinea-pig, where will the operation be performed? In the non-white wing of Groote Schuur Hospital? Or where Washkansky and Blaiberg were operated on? My guess is the latter. Barnard and the authorities cannot afford to let the world see the inferior non-white section of the hospital — nor is there the necessary equipment in that section.

My advice to Dr Barnard is, make haste, use all the guinea pigs you can, because time is running out.

The bells have started ringing for you and your masters.

— Mahluli W. Mngadi

Two sample letters illustrating the world-wide support which the ANC enjoys in its struggle against oppression

Dear Sir,

My wife Elizabeth joins me in stating publicly our full support of the African National Congress and its necessitated strategy of meeting violence with violence. We also support the African National Congress-Zimbabwe African People's Union alliance.

I lived in South Africa for 15 years, did the bulk of my schooling there and the first years of my commercial life before leaving in 1961.

I knew many suppressed peoples intimately. I knew the printers in Johannesburg who printed substantial amounts for the African National Congress, although this very action, of course, was quite illegal. I knew underpaid and exploited Africans in industry and on farms. I knew frustrated reporters from African magazines . . .

There will be very many people, particularly whites, who, although they might have professed that Apartheid and its ensuing repressive legislations are evil, will shrink from associating with, or even condoning, military action on the part of the A. N. C. And it is precisely for this reason that I write this letter.

It is exceedingly difficult for any pursuer of peace, regardless of race, to arrive at and accept a philosophy of violence. And this philosophy can only be accepted after all other means for a peaceful solution have failed. These failures have now created the situation in which the oppressed peoples of Southern Africa find themselves.

Peaceful methods have been tried time and time again through decade after decade. But in return for non-violent protests, tens of thousands have received prison sentences and banishment orders; others have been whipped, tortured or exiled.

In 1956 national leaders of the A. N. C., such men as Chief Lutuli, Nelson Mandela and Walter Sisulu, were arrested and charged with 'high treason'. I am quite sure that most people are well aware of the absolute ridiculousness of that trial. All of these men were advocates of peaceful solutions at that time. But what chance has peaceful protest got when the opposing forces have control of brutal policemen and security officials licenced to jail, beat, torture and shoot defenceless Africans?

The voice of Chief Albert Lutuli, a Nobel Peace Prize Winner, was representative of the A. N. C. when he pleaded year after year for recognition of basic rights for Africans as laid down for all to see in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. If there were listeners they certainly were passive for little action was forthcoming. South Africa is a member of the United Nations Organization and as such she is bound to abide by the U. D. H. R. But quite obviously, mere things like membership and agreements have little meaning to the South African Government.

The massive list of repressive legislation introduced and vigorously enforced by the S. A. Government causes sub-human conditions. The Pass Laws, the Group Areas Act, the Industrial Conciliation Act, the Bantu Education Act, the Suppression of Communism Act, the Population Registration Act, the Native Laws Amendment Act, the Mixed Marriages Prohibition Act, the Terrorism Act. The list is virtually endless and these are but a few of the fascist measures that bring terror into millions of lives.

My wife and I appeal to all peoples who wish to see a Southern Africa free from racial persecution, intolerance and oppression to openly support the ANC and similarly orientated bodies, and not to shirk from this support through fear of unpopularity. The hearts of millions of oppressed people are crying out for comfort — let us not block our ears to their cries.

— Ian D. Aiken

Gentlemen:

I would appreciate complete information about the African National Congress and a sample copy of "Sechaba," with subscription information. I would hope to solicit contributions for your most worthy cause.

May 1968 bring further victories in the struggle against apartheid!

— James T. Wicke (USA)

Sechaba

NEWS ITEMS

1. Heart Expert Says 'Stop Swops'

A heart research pioneer has called for a halt to transplant operations because they are "medically unsound." He is Dr Werner Forssmann, 63, who won the Nobel Prize for medicine in 1956.

He stated in a radio interview: "I consider it a crime to perform an operation in a field where fundamental research is not yet finished."

He added that the important thing was not the technical performance, "because today every good heart surgeon can do an operation like that."

2. Transplant Criticism in USA

The controversy over the wisdom and the social and moral implications of heart transplants has gathered momentum following the deaths of four of the first five recipients. Many doctors in the United States and elsewhere are clearly not so enthusiastic about the timing of the surgery as the teams in Cape Town and the USA appear to be, stated a syndicated press report from New York. Yet these teams are said to be eager to perform further operations.

3. USSR Will Not Experiment On Humans

Soviet surgeons will approach the problem of heart transplants quietly and with caution, Soviet Health Minister Boris Petrovsky stated earlier this year.

Delivering a lecture on the transplantation of organs, the prominent Soviet surgeon said that, for the time being, the problem of immunological incompatibility of tissues was not solved, and work should be continued to develop an artificial heart.

He said that, despite the pioneering work of the South African professor, Chris Barnard, he did not agree with him. "I am not satisfied with the published medical data on his patients and the people who inadvertently became donors," he added.

Boris Petrovsky declared that, in developing heart transplant methods, Soviet surgeons would not carry out a single experiment on man.

ON PROBLEMS WITHIN THE O. A. U.

The Organization for African Unity has many Committees established to facilitate the implementation of one resolution or another. The concept of working for African unity and African liberation is an ideal highly esteemed by all genuine freedom-fighters and independent African states. But there are some disturbing events that frustrate the realization of the noble ideals and objectives set out in the Charter of the OAU.

The freedom-fighters and their organizations are sometimes very carelessly referred to as "refugees." Needless to say that in the African context, every inch of the continent is their motherland. In terms of the various international conventions of such bodies as the United Nations and the International Red Cross, the definition of a refugee is such that a freedom-fighter cannot readily be classified under it.

Freedom fighters, of course, are dedicated to the struggle to liberate their countries of origin, and cannot find the time and resources to enter into litigation to establish the meaning of "refugee" and whether they fall under it. Insofar as freedom-fighters have to seek asylum in brother African countries thus gaining the opportunity to prepare for the overthrow of white minority racist regimes, to that extent freedom-fighters could be regarded as "refugees." But these are "refugees" of a different type from those who have no plans to return to their home countries to liquidate racist regimes. Any such connotation that might attach to the usage of the term "refugee" must not be extended to encompass freedom-fighters.

LIBERATION COMMITTEE

Freedom-fighters have to face many problems which are better dealt with through channels established by the OAU and Member States. One of the watchdog committees of the OAU set up to attend to the problems that arise in the struggle to liberate the unliberated African states is the OAU Liberation Committee. This is a co-ordinating body. As the struggle for liberation develops, some of the weaknesses of the Liberation Committee become more apparent. This is not surprising, as no living organization, particularly a political one, can claim to be perfect. But that is no ground for ignoring obvious defects.

One of the main dangers facing the OAU is the creation of many Committees which in turn establish formidable bureaucratic machinery which is quite remote from the day-to-day difficulties confronting the liberation movements. The personnel who man such OAU machinery assume a status that sometimes appears even higher than that of a Head of State. In such circumstances, it is not difficult for the OAU personnel to treat urgent matters of life-and-death with a relaxed attitude of *laissez-faire*.

CARELESS AND UNDEDICATED

It is to be hoped that when the Council of Ministers convenes and when the Heads of State and Government meet, that the staff employed by the OAU Committees will come up for some attention, especially with regard to the issue of funds and the disappearance of memoranda and other documentary material which the liberation movements are required to submit from time to time.

The question of the loss of freedom-fighters' memoranda

after presentation to various Committees of the OAU has long been a festering sore. Now and again the imperialist propaganda agencies and their parliaments reveal hair-raising intimate knowledge of the position of the liberation organizations in terms of arms, equipment, training camps, logistic requirements, etc.

And now the liberation movements are faced with a new problem — the defection of senior executive officers of the OAU Liberation Committee. Freedom-fighters have nothing to do with the internal political problems of independent African States. But we do look forward to some form of protection against the arbitrary actions of those OAU officials entrusted with the task of helping in the struggle to liberate the rest of Africa.

We are constrained to illustrate our point here by referring to one incident — a defection — which causes us great anxiety. A senior executive officer of the OAU Liberation Committee is now a diplomat representing his country in Lisbon. Yes, he has been accredited to Portugal, that blood-thirsty colonial anachronism condemned everywhere men cherish freedom, democracy and human dignity. Only traitors to Africa's destiny could stoop so low as to enter in to state relations with Portugal. To belabour the point is not necessary; we only trust that the senior organs of the OAU will tackle these issues when next they assemble.

Meanwhile, we reproduce here a verbatim report taken from the South African press: —

PORTUGAL GAINS BY DEFECTION

"Lisbon — Friday. Portugal is poised for an important breakthrough in her African war campaigns as a result of the defection of a top official of the Organization for African Unity's Liberation Committee. The official is Mr H. I. A. Ugwu, a former Nigerian civil servant recently stationed in Tanzania as assistant executive secretary of the Committee, which is charged with planning the "wars of liberation" in African territories still under White control — among them Portuguese Angola, Mozambique and Guinea.

Some weeks ago Mr Ugwu told friends he was going to work for the Ojukwu regime in Biafra. Since then he has been seen at the Biafra mission in Lisbon. A spokesman for the Portuguese Foreign Ministry denied that officials here have had any contact with Mr Ugwu.

There can be no doubt however that Mr Ugwu's intimate knowledge of top-secret planning in relation to the three Portuguese territories could prove vital in the Salazar Government's campaign, which is about to drag into its seventh year with no end in sight."

This report must surely give food for thought to all people interested in the emancipation of oppressed people in Africa. Perhaps the OAU will consider what appropriate measures are to be taken to guard against such dangers caused by defection or by any other reason, grievously prejudicial to the liberation movements.

But this whole episode is a lesson to the freedom-fighters to be vigilant and circumspect, especially in the giving of detailed information so often requested by OAU standing committees.

(Reproduced from 'Mayibuye', published by the Zambian office of the African National Congress of South Africa.)

A TREASONABLE DOCUMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA

**Statement on Human Rights Year, 1968, by O. R. TAMBO,
Acting President-General of the African National Congress**

For the oppressed people of South Africa the commemoration of the 20th year of the adoption of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights bears a very poignant meaning. In our country the Declaration of Human Rights is a "treasonable" document — a crying indictment of all the practices, policies and laws of the South African state. For our people, therefore, the adoption of the Declaration by the UN General Assembly in 1948 had a special significance. The failure of South Africa to vote in favour of the Declaration was inevitable. The antagonism of the South African racist regime towards the Declaration of Human Rights is not based on any complicated ideas derived from political philosophy or ideology. The simple fact is that for every section of the Declaration the statute law of South Africa has a provision which contains a direct and express infringement. South Africa has the distinction of being the only country in the world which boldly and unashamedly acts in contravention of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights as part of its avowed policy.

20 YEARS OF APARTHEID

1968 sees the end of two decades of Apartheid in South Africa. The Nazi ideology which it was the primary purpose of the Declaration to combat, finds its resurrection in the policy of Apartheid.

During the last two decades human values in our country sank to primitive levels as elementary human rights were trampled underfoot on a scale unparalleled in recent history. This occurred in open and direct defiance of the United Nations and the entire international community. It is as well to remember that the men in power in South Africa today wholeheartedly supported Nazism and have never repented of it.

The African and other non-white people in South Africa do not enjoy the right to take part in government nor can they vote for representatives who govern. The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa (passed in 1961) specifically excludes non-whites from any participation in the councils of the state.

They do not have the right to assemble with others and join — or refrain from joining — any legitimate organization or group. They cannot enjoy a full cultural life in accordance with their artistic, literary and scientific inclinations. On the contrary, the majority of the people are excluded from places of culture or entertainment, from libraries, from scientific institutions.

Our people do not have the right to travel without hindrance within the country or to leave the country. The notorious pass-laws and the departure from the Republic Regulation Act prevent this.

Africans do not have the right to a job and in fact are legally prevented from doing a large variety of jobs which are reserved for Whites. They have no rights of collective bargaining, and cannot form or join a labour union, even one recognised by the state. Africans cannot agitate and cannot go on strike in order to better their working conditions and pay.

The Bantu Education Act prevents Africans from enjoying the right to education "directed to the full development of the human personality and to the strengthening of respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms . . ." Our people do not have the right to equal opportunity in all fields of life "without distinction of any kind, such as race, colour, sex, language, religion, political or other opinion . . ." Needless to say, in South Africa it is not permitted to the people to "hold opinions without interference and to seek, receive and impart information and ideas through any media and regardless of frontiers." Where almost every country in the world seems to be moving in the direction of enlarging the areas of human freedom towards the standard and ideal contained in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, South Africa has been moving in the opposite direction.

THE GREAT FIGHT

Naturally the people of South Africa have waged courageous struggles against the infamous system, for freedom, democracy and peace. The reaction of the regime has been a systematic resort to force and terror directed against the masses. Thousands of people of all races, including some of the greatest leaders of men, languish timelessly in jail for the crimes of standing up for justice, human dignity and peace among all their fellow men.

Tribute must be paid to the tireless work of the United Nations and its agencies which have, in and out of season, drawn attention to the infringements of human rights in South Africa and have urged the regime of White Supremacy to change its ways. The Commission of Human Rights, the Trusteeship Committee, the Decolonization Committee, the Special Committee on Apartheid, have all in their various spheres played an invaluable role.

Special mention must also be made of non-governmental organizations such as the International Defence and Aid, whose responsibilities in the sphere of humanitarian causes will increase in the years of conflict in Southern Africa. The World Council of Churches, the Anti-Apartheid movements in Britain and many other countries, Amnesty International and other organizations have also invariably taken a firm stand in support of human rights in South Africa.

Many countries and governments in Africa and in other parts of the world, both East and West, have stood with the oppressed people of South Africa in their struggle for human rights.

Persistent contravention of human rights is a recipe for violent conflict and war. The people can clearly not tolerate the arrogance of the oppressors indefinitely. Already the people have decided to stand up and fight for their rights, arms in hand.

Our fight is for justice. We cannot cease until we have won, as we will in time. And in achieving human rights for all men in Southern Africa we will be making our contribution to the fight for human rights and freedom the world over.