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VORSTER'S OUTGOING POLICY

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FIGHTING TALK

BEWARE THE TEMPTOR

Two conflicting trends in international relations appear to be setting in which cannot be reconciled one with the other. On the one hand world opinion condemns racist South Africa with a unanimity and depth of feeling unprecedented even in this well-worn arena; on the other, some individual states, albeit with inconsistency and some nervousness, are making tentative feelers for a detente. The first trend is symbolized by a new and well coordinated initiative of African, Asian and Socialist states at the United Nations in first barring General Assembly approval of the credentials of the South Africa delegation, and then by opening out an attack on South Africa's presence at all. This action at the United Nations will undoubtedly give additional impetus to the already extensive and all embracing movement to drive Vorster's regime into deeper isolation.

Much has already been achieved in the field of sport. Many international agencies have excluded apartheid's representatives, and now religious organisations are beginning to take issue with apartheid to the point of supporting the armed struggle against this system. The degree of repugnance to apartheid is measurable by the massive opposition to the British proposal to continue and increase the supply of arms to South Africa. In this issue alone we see the germ of a major world-wide offensive against collaboration with apartheid.

Yet, despite this strongly flowing current, seemingly in defiance of it, a small number of states have succumbed to timidity, and, revealing an extraordinary poverty of spirit on so major a principle as race supremacy, they now urge negotiation with the polecat of the world. Even worse, Iran actually flouts an Afro-Asian understanding, to give serious consideration to the exchange of diplomatic representatives. In the tropics, the island of Mauritius, situated strategically in the Indian Ocean is also about to open the door to South African penetration.

Particularly alarming, and from our point of view even more dangerous are the reported urging by the leaders of Ivory Coast, Gabon, Ghana and Madagascar for negotiations with the Vorster regime. What a slap in the face this is for those men of vision who held such high hopes in the sixties for the total liberation of the African continent from colonial rule. What a retreat from the ideal of African freedom and the dignity of Africa's image es espoused by the founders of the institutions of African unity. A number of reasons have been advanced in support of the arguments for negotiations and these are now being widely canvassed. Dr. Busia, Prime Minister of Ghana scorns the strategy of guerilla war and calls it "sending a few people to slaughter". Trade embargoes have been similarly ineffective, he said, and he proposes as an alternative, pressure by outside governments to try to elicit support within South Africa - including the white minority - for a "constitutional and even moral change".

President Houphouet - Boigny went even further and said that world pressures to ban arms for South Africa, break diplomatic relations and forbid landing rights were "tragic" and "ridiculous".

Instead of guerillas he wants African diplomats to "invade" South Africa peacefully and thereby bring about a spirit of brotherhood between Black and White.

A DISSERVICE TO OUR CAUSE

Our movement badly needs friends, particularly in Africa where lies not only our political base but also our African identity. But we are obliged to say that states which urge negotiation with South Africa are doing a great disservice to our cause. Particular offensive at this time is the derision of the actions of guerillas which accompanies such talk so that not only is our effort undermined but the very capacity of Africans who fight is brought into question. Proposals to negotiate are also hard to bear when it is known only too well that at this stage Africa would be speaking from a position of weakness not strength. Surely it is not intended to go cap in hand to the arrogant racist monsters in Pretoria? And if so, to what end? There is nothing that can be discussed usefully with South Africa if the fundamental principles of African dignity are to be left intact.

We are bound to wonder at the increase in the number of voices which are taking up the call for negotiation. Can it be that these states are genuinely undertaking a reappraisal of the Southern African scene or are there other factors at work? Is it perhaps that the French Government is pressing the Ivory Coast to plead this brief so that the flow of business and French arms can continue as before? Has the British Government persuaded Ghana that it would be helpful if someone broke the solidarity of Black States to facilitate the supply of British arms to South Africa? Or do these states themselves hope to gain the kind of crumbs Vorster has given Malawi as a quid pro quo for their efforts. (We notice that Banda is crowing that they are following his lead). Whatever the reason, this is sheer folly. We urge with the strongest force that no particular individual interests can conceivably outweigh the universal interest of the world as a whole to unite against South Africa.

We would go further and suggest that there is a very real identity of interest among those who oppose apartheid. We are united by the world wide struggle against racism. We fight for African and Black dignity. We stand for the isolation not only of Vorster, but also those imperialist governments which succor the racists and prevent the oppressed and exploited from breaking their chains everywhere.

This is an impressive fraternity, a world fraternity much more significant than the miserable cocktail parties that Vorster has to offer in the segregated diplomatic suburbs of Pretoria. We invite our errant brothers to stay with us, the true fraternity of mankind's conscience which, despite the cruel divisions in our world, yet finds a common voice on so many occasions.

THE PEACEFUL CHANGE ARGUMENT

How strong is this argument for peaceful change repeated ad nauseum with usual lack of conviction by Mr. Heath and now brought forward by Dr. Busia? The possibility of peaceful constitutional progress was a nonstarter in South Africa at least from the act of Union in 1910 when the White minority seized full control of the political institutions in the country. Since the Nationalist Party came to power in 1948, extra-parliamentary nonviolent action which was possible before then, was gradually suppressed by legislation and sheer force. How then is peaceful change to come about? Is the White parliamentary opposition to conduct some kind of suicidal political campaign for the extension of democracy to Black South Africans? But we see that the trends are in the opposite direction. Even those Whites who saw the light and pressed for the integration of Black people into the political system have either given up or are themselves victims of Vorster's repression. They now exist symbolically only.

There can be no peaceful solution for South Africa. Let those who suggest that outside pressure might bring it about think hard about how they failed to influence events in Zimbabwe — a far easier case.

After years of tireless effort to pressurise the various white minority



Cover drawing by D. N. Osborn

Governments of South Africa, we who have lived under white rule for centuries, call on our friends to recognise as we have had to recognise, that a democratic South African can only emerge from a necessarily violent struggle by the people affected, the Black masses. They will decide the issue, and they expect and justly demand, that their will be not countered by those who do not suffer under apartheid and whose motives in seeking some reconciliation with it must therefore be suspect. From a different perspective, even if some states could find it possible to coexist with a racist South Africa, are they wise to attempt to negotiate this for the sake of continental peace? Our reading of South Africa's current moves is that a major offensive is underway to infiltrate and gain influence over more and more African States. The spider in Pretoria is no longer passive, it is moving further and further afield, dragging its victims into its orbit.

NEGOTIATE, AND SUCCUMB

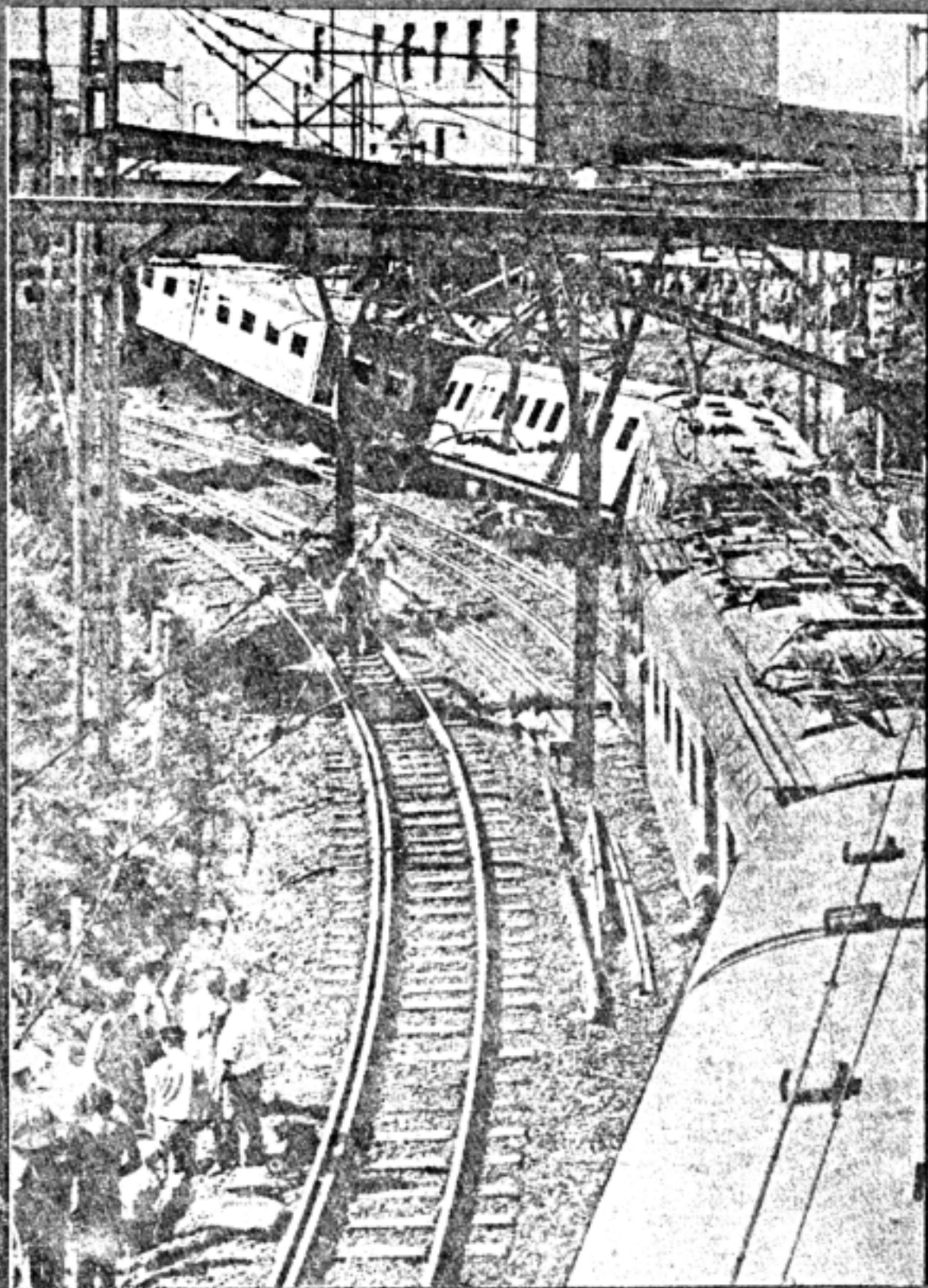
Look at the map. See how it is only the intransigence of President Nyerere and President Kaunda that is containing South African imperialism. Negotiate and succumb — that is the lesson of Malawi where the chief information officer in the Government is a South African appointee. South Africa has military bases scattered all over Southern Africa. It is on the verge of becoming a nuclear power. It manufactures napalm. Portugal is offering bases to NATO so that independent Africa will be threatened not only by the racist minority in the south but also by the former colonial masters returning in the role of policemen. These are the harsh realities of power, military and political, in our continent. Any further concessions to the enemies of Africa will undermine its tenuous unity and its self respect.

The decision to opt for armed struggle was not taken lightly in South Africa. Once taken there is no going back even if it leads to the increased polarization of White and Black before the issue of how South Africa is to be ruled is decided. We in the ANC understood full well that acts of violence would arouse to fury not only the state machine but also many of its supporters. We knew that many of us would pay a heavy penalty for daring to rise up in anger against our oppression. But the choice of how to conduct our struggle was our own and it must remain so. **If some states find it difficult to support us in our course then let them not, at least, treat with the enemy. This is our urgent plea from one African to another.**

(See p. 7. for ANC statement)

CROWD STONES POLICE AFTER TRAIN CRASH

Police and Crowd at Crash Scene



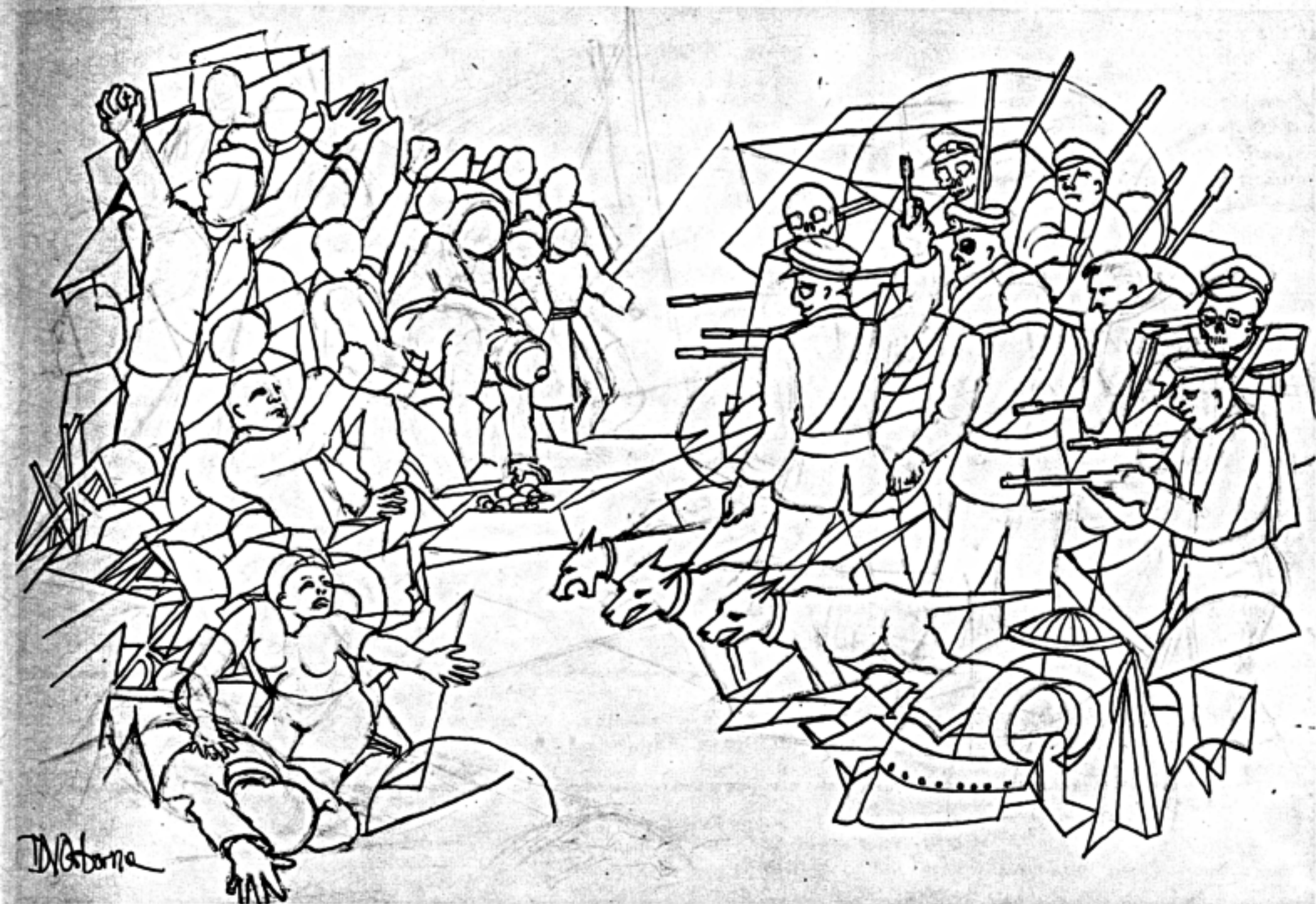
STONES WERE HURLED at police, railway officials and Pressmen by an angry crowd of about 3,000 Africans in an ugly mood when, chanting and shouting abuse, they surrounded the scene of the train crash in which 12 Africans were killed and 242 injured.

Twenty minutes earlier the Mayor of Johannesburg, Mr. Sam Moss, had appealed by loudspeaker to the crowd to be peaceful and disperse.

At 7.05 a.m. on October 31 a passenger train crammed with city workers ploughed into the back of another city-bound train near Ikwézi station, a mile from the main Soweto station of Dube.

A White train driver, Mr. A.G. Talken, of Bezuidenhout Valley, was dragged from the driver's cab and attacked by angry passengers. Mr. Talken was taken to hospital with severe injuries. Within minutes of the collision, as bewildered and shocked passengers screamed and wept, ambulances from many parts of the Reef raced to the accident. Two fully-loaded coaches had been ripped open, throwing the bodies of the dead and injured over a wide area. African men and women were weeping as they searched the wreckage for relatives. Thousands from the adjoining township soon surrounded the tragic scene trying to find out if relatives were among the dead and injured. It was a pitiful sight.

Ambulances with sirens screaming barged their way through the crowd while policemen with dogs tried to keep the crowds away. A team of firemen using axes broke their way through the wreckage, freeing injured and trapped people and removing dead bodies. By 8.30 all the injured had been removed to Baragwanath Hospital and the dead removed. Thousands more Africans arrived at the scene, and shortly after 9 a.m. the crowd, which had swollen to about 3,000 began to get angry and chant and shout as the police forced them back behind the railway fencing. They began shouting abuse and waving their fists. Mr. Sam Moss, using a loud-speaker, shouted an urgent appeal: "As the Mayor of Johannesburg I want to tell you that I and all of us are very concerned and upset. But all that can be done is being done. Will you please remain peaceful and go home now. We will do all in our power to help".



The anger of the crowd subsided and allowed the police to move them back.

DOG ATTACKS

Then at 10.30 a.m. while railway engineers were trying to untangle the wreckage and clear the line, a dog attacked one of the onlookers. The crowd thought it was a police dog, and panic broke out. Shouting abuse, they picked up stones and charged forward, hurling stones at police, railway officials and Pressmen. All fled to the safety of the carriages only to find that a crowd had gathered on the other side of the train and were also hurling stones. A railway policeman, Sgt. M.N. van der Schyff, standing near the train, was hit on the head by a brick.

Within minutes reinforcements of 30 African and about 20 White policemen arrived, and forced the crowd back.

The crowd continued to shout abuse, but remained watching from behind the fence as engineers continued to try and clear the line.

A senior railway official inspecting the sight said: "The exact cause of the collision is not yet known and will only be established after an official inquiry. But it appears that there was much more to this accident than meets the eye. We have not ruled out serious negligence on the part of someone."

After appealing for order, Mr. Moss, one of the first Whites on the scene, said: "I made my appeal because I knew that the slightest provocation could have set off a serious riot which we wanted to avoid at all costs. Feelings are bitter enough as it is. We have constantly tackled the railways about the danger of African rail transport, and recently they have given us their assurance that they will effectively deal with the matter."

Sad Mr. F.S. Mncube, chairman of the Urban Bantu Council of Johannesburg, replied: "We are shocked and dismayed by yet another tragic accident involving African trains and lives. They are becoming too frequent and my people are sore and angry. They have no alternative but to use this unsafe transport."

"We are asking ourselves when will steps be taken to ensure that African travel facilities are made safe?"

Mr. Norman Ntshangase, a passenger in one of the trains involved in the disaster, stated that if it had not been for his timely warning many other lives would have been lost.

"I was looking out of the window of the stationary train I was in when I saw another train coming up behind. I shouted: "There's another train coming, there's going to be an accident."

At my words several people leapt out of the carriage I was in and scuttled to safety."

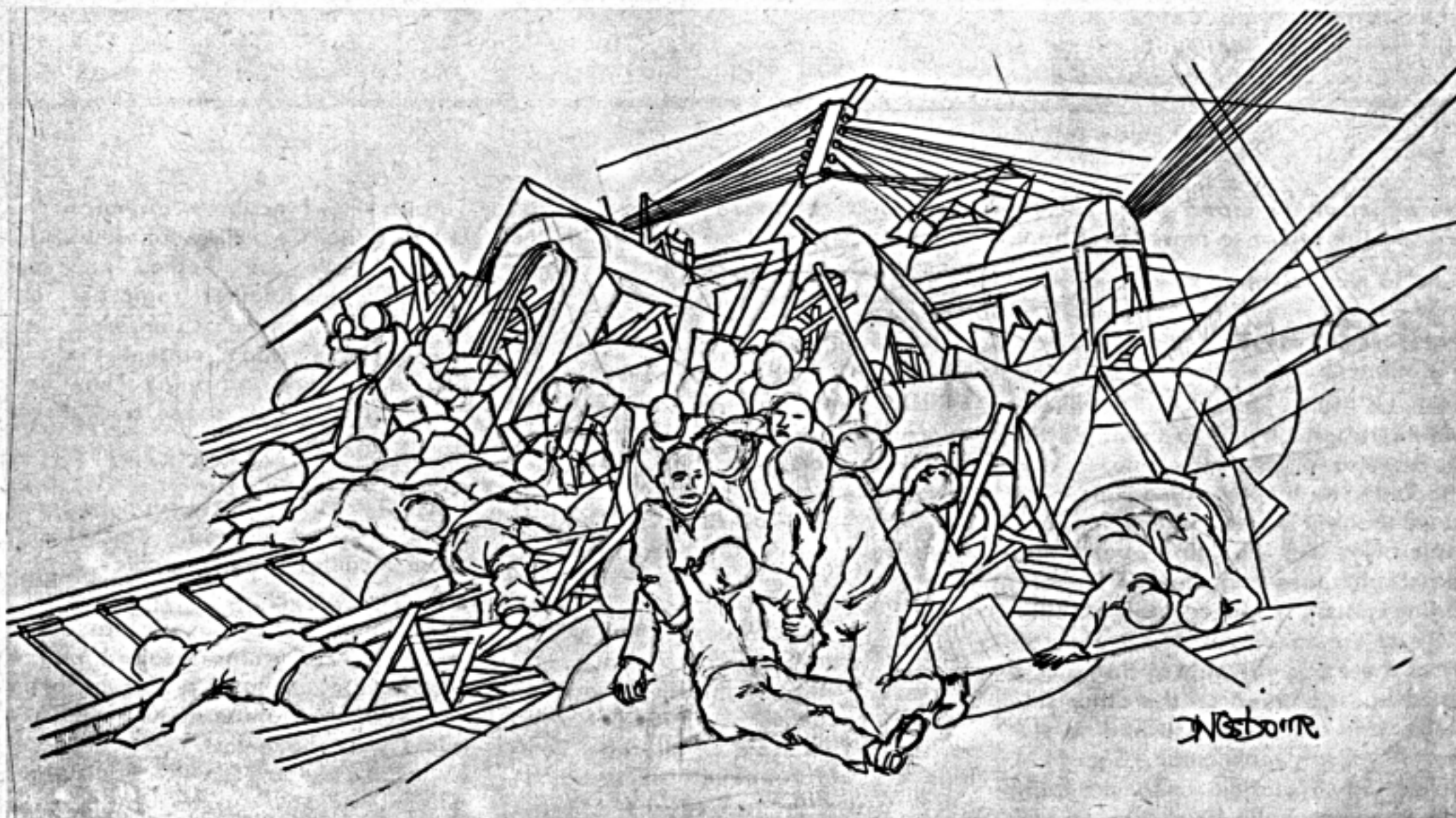
Mr. Ntshangase described the horror of the piercing screams that followed the crash.

"It was terrible. People were thrown out of the trains as two carriages telescoped. Other passengers, with blood pouring from gaping wounds, staggered about, not knowing what had happened."

The Soweto train disaster is the fifth major rail accident in the Johannesburg area during the past two years. A total of 51 people were killed and 628 injured – all Africans.

In February, 1969, 35 were killed and 181 injured when a township train smashed into a goods train at Langlaagte station. In December, 1969, two Africans were killed and 400 injured at Dube station when a crowd panicked and stampeded across a narrow footbridge.

In February this year three people were killed and 17 injured at Croesus station, near Industria in a similar stampede. Eleven died and 30 were injured when a train jumped the rails and plunged on to the platform at Booyens station in August.



MAURITIUS COLLABORATION

ANC Secretary-General writes to the Prime Minister of Mauritius

The African National Congress, leader of the National Liberation struggle in South Africa, takes this opportunity to draw your attention to a matter of vital interest not only to the fighting people of our country but also to the peace and security of the independent African continent and the rest of the world. The main question we would like to raise with Your Excellency is the seemingly growing collaboration between your country, Mauritius, and the brutal Apartheid regime of South Africa.

In the first place we would like to indicate from the outset that our people, despite the difficult and complicated struggle they have been waging now for more than three centuries, had always held sacred the heroic struggle for independence the people of Mauritius finally consummated against their colonial oppressors, mainly British imperialism. When independence finally dawned in Mauritius, we were amongst the first to hail it as an important step forward which would enable the Mauritian people to shape their own destinies as full masters of their country.

This attitude of ours stems from the long established tradition of the African National Congress of morally and politically supporting the revolutionary movements of peoples fighting for their National Independence in all parts of the world. Secondly, we have always held that the victory of a people, even if they are separated from us by long distances, can only serve the best interests of our own struggle since victory reinforces the international forces supporting those who are still locked in deadly combat against their oppressors.

The present shift of the foreign policy of the Government of Mauritius, in so far as it seems to be more inclined towards growing friendship with the racist regime of South Africa, has, however, not justified our fondest hopes.

We shall not go into detailed analysis of what we regard as a somewhat unfortunate development in the foreign policy of your Government. We shall only make reference to the latest upsurge of world public opinion against South Africa on the question of intended Arms sales by the British Government.

O.A.U. Commitment

The British Government's announcement of its intention to resume arms sales to South Africa sparked off tremendous opposition from primarily the African, Asian and Caribbean member states of the Commonwealth. This reaction quickly snowballed to cover most parts of the world mobilising the majority of mankind against the Apartheid regime and its imperialist supporters.

Of tremendous importance has been the sharp reaction of the Organisation of African Unity which as Your Excellency will remember, broadened the opposition of arming the aggressive Republic of South Africa by condemning not only Britain but other imperialist countries such as France and West Germany for consistently breaking the arms embargo against South Africa. An OAU delegation headed by President Kaunda of Zambia, was appointed and charged with the task of putting across the almost unanimous opposition of the independent African countries to the sale of arms to South Africa. This delegation has just completed its itinerary which covered Rome, Bonn, London, New York (UN General Assembly) and Paris.

A question may well be asked – why has the independent African continent reacted in the manner it did on the question? Firstly, the Independent African countries are bound by the revolutionary principles of the Charter of the OAU which commits every African country to the struggle for the completion of the de-colonisation process in Africa. Mauritius, Your Excellency, is also fully committed to this struggle which is raging in Southern Africa and Guinea Bissau by virtue of its membership of the Organisation of African Unity. Secondly, the independent African countries fully recognise the aggressive threat posed by South Africa against the rest of the African countries.

Naturally, Your Excellency, this world-wide movement which deepened the isolation of South Africa worried her ruling circles. Her reaction has been to inflate beyond proportion her favourite stunt of projecting a bogey of so-called Communist infiltration into the Indian Ocean. This gimmick is, of course, so often used by her that it has failed to register any meaning with the majority of the African states.

Recently, however, South African commentators have been shouting themselves hoarse about the many friends they have in Africa and elsewhere attempting to prove that South Africa is not isolated as most people think she is. She has singled out 2 African countries which have stood by her on the arms question at the present session of the UN Assembly. These are Mauritius and Lesotho which are additions to her small retinue of African supporters headed by Malawi.

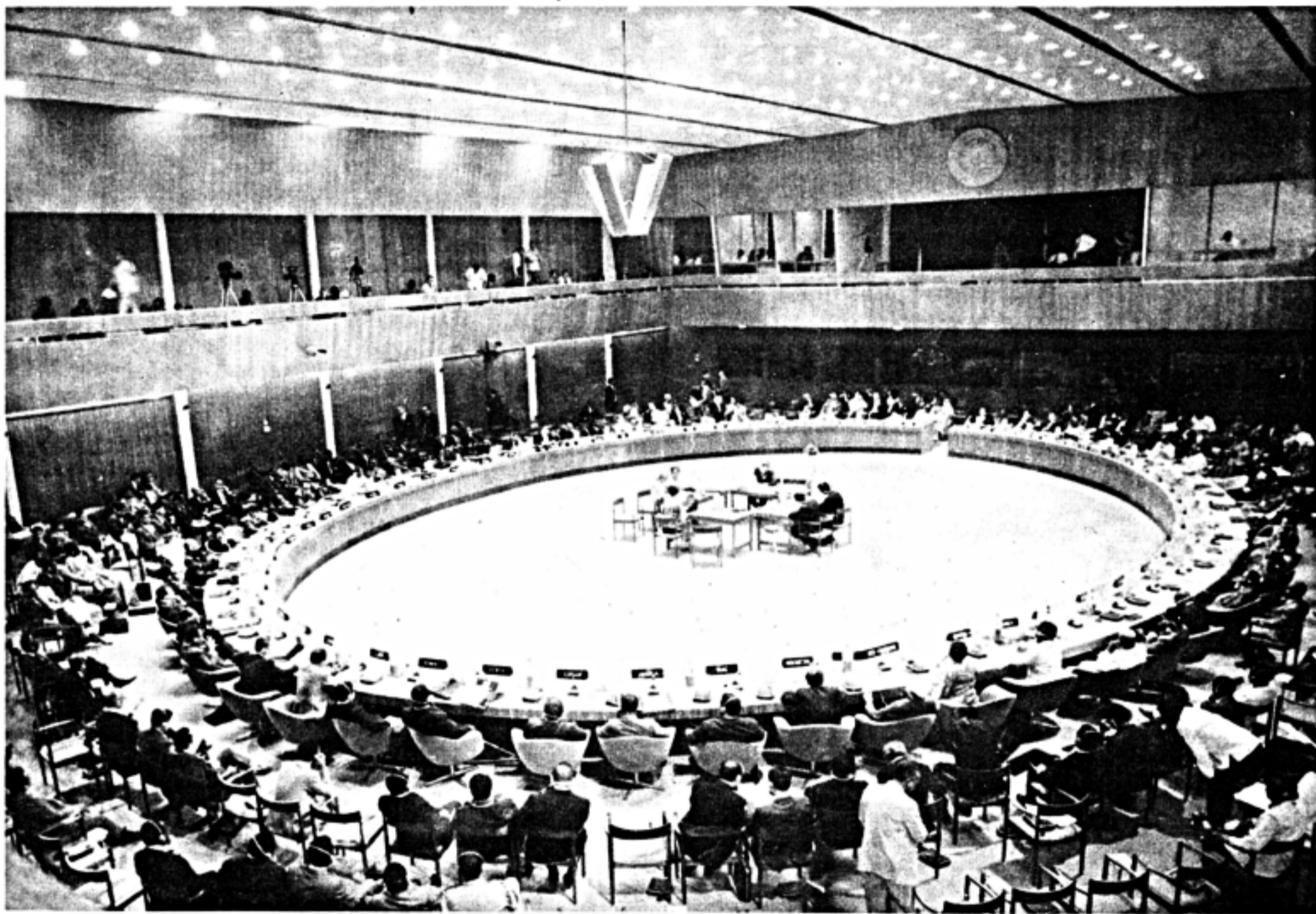
The Future Belongs to the Black People

The African National Congress is, however, convinced that the Government of Mauritius can change its foreign policy which puts it on a collision course not only with the oppressed millions in South Africa but also with the rest of peace and freedom-loving mankind. This will accord with the supreme interests of not only the fighting people of our country but with those of the people of Mauritius themselves. After all, the future in South Africa belongs to the Black people not to the White minority oppressors who have chosen to maintain themselves in power by subjugating the majority who oppose them by means of brute force.

In conclusion, Your Excellency, permit us to quote from President Nyerere's statement delivered at the 25th Assembly of the UN. He said, "for Africa there is no choice, we have to support the freedom fighters. Theirs is merely a continuation of the freedom struggle which has already resulted in 41 African Nations being represented in this Assembly; For the National freedom and human equality for which these people are fighting are not only the same rights which the rest of Africa claimed and won; they are also the only basis on which the free states of Africa exist."

NON - ALIGNED

The 3rd Summit Meeting of the Non-Aligned States



Conference in Session

The recent 'Non-Aligned' conference took place at a time when Vorster was making a series of bombastic utterances. He Said:

- We will fight communism not only in our own country but in any other country in Africa where the government asks us to do so; there must be no doubt about this.
- There must be no doubt about one other thing, either. We see how things are building up and the decisions which are taken at the conference of so-called non-aligned countries.
- We see the moral support which they get from church people, as we've experienced with shock only recently.

- We are aware that problems in this connection will not arise tomorrow or the day after, but that these people are busy building up powers on a greater scale than before to use later against South Africa.'

If large-scale plans against South Africa become a reality and terrorists come from certain countries — with the consent of those countries — to invade South Africa, 'we will oppose them and if they flee we shall chase them and do so right into those countries from which they came.'

It was in these words that the South African Prime Minister, B. J. Vorster, recently declared war against most of the world.

BUT COMMITTED

No Clearer Statement

It would be hard to find a clearer statement of South Africa's aggressive policies towards the rest of Africa. Not only does White South Africa declare its intention of invading any country which gives support to freedom fighters. It also states a purpose of intervening in any country whose internal social policies displease it; under the pretext of 'fighting communism' and of being 'asked' to intervene by that country's government. (We have seen illustrations of reliance on just such pretexts by the USA in Vietnam, the Dominican Republic and, slightly less openly, Greece.)

The occasion for these utterances by the leader of South Africa's White regime was the 1970 Summit Meeting of the Non-Aligned States. (It is significant that Vorster refers to these as 'so-called non-aligned countries', in pursuance of his nation's familiar tactic of implying that all its opponents are communist, thus supporting the arguments of those 'Western Christian civilized' countries which for such crude imperialist economic reasons give his government their backing.)

Reason for Alarm

Nevertheless, looking at the progress and conclusions of the Summit Meeting, it is true to say that Vorster and his supporters had reason for alarm. For in Lusaka, last September, a mighty gathering of nations (the majority of them for centuries the victims of exploitation of a kind very similar to that taking place in South Africa today) reached decisions of profound moral force and purpose.

Meaningful Collective Action

We must move non-alignment out of what critics consider mere political and idle rhetoric. We must work out and agree on common action to give substance to the movement not only in the political field, but in economic and technical fields which will add to our unity and strength. Let us, therefore, seek areas of meaningful collective action; let us increase our capacity for creating a better environment, a better tomorrow for development in peace, freedom and justice.

With this stirring call to action, President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia declared the Summit Meeting open. Without doubt, this third Summit was the largest gathering of Heads of State and Leaders of Governments ever to assemble together in any part of the world, and at any time in human history. The delegates from nearly sixty countries represented over half the human race, and it can surely be asserted that the greater part of the populations of even those countries not represented would have

been in agreement with the deliberations, aspirations and decisions of the participating countries.

Background to the Conference

It is generally agreed, except of course by the enemies of progress, that the conference was an outstanding success. And the greatest credit for this success must go to the Government and people of Zambia who, in the short space of only four months, made an almost superhuman effort of preparation. A 100-acre bush site was cleared and landscaped, a magnificent conference hall was erected, and more than sixty houses for delegates were built. The thousands of labourers, the skilled experts, Zambia Airways, the Zam-Tan Road Services, the Port Authorities in Dar-es-Salaam, and numerous other organizations cooperated wonderfully to ensure that all was ready in time. The Mulungushi Conference Hall and the Mulungushi Village, where the visiting delegates were housed, were appropriately named after a historic place in Zambia's march to Independence.

In preparation for the conference the streets and buildings of Lusaka blossomed with flags and decorations. The flags of participating countries lined the main streets and the airport; giant slogans advocating peace, cooperation, economic independence and freedom, in English, French and Arabic, were strategically displayed throughout the city. During the Conference, newspapers carried special Summit supplements and special evening editions reporting on the day's happenings; drama groups put on revolutionary plays, such as CHE, enacted by the University of Zambia; cultural groups gave performances of traditional Zambian dancing; the City Council arranged an evening club where delegates could relax and also meet the local population; Zambia Radio and Television gave the news in French, Arabic and Spanish, as well as English, and their programmes were geared to depicting development and progress in non-aligned countries.

Without doubt, the hardest-worked person was President Kaunda himself. He not only took a personal interest in all the preparations but virtually took up residence at the Lusaka International Airport to welcome the visiting Heads of State. All this was in addition to his other onerous duties.

Playing it Down

Readers in South Africa, and indeed in most Western countries, may well be surprised to learn of the wonderful atmosphere and dynamic 'feel' of this whole conference. Seldom can so exciting an occasion have been so deliberately 'played down' by the Press. It of course goes without saying that the South African Press virtually ignored the positive contents of the Summit's deliberations. All they



Presidents Obote and Nyerere

could do was to scorn and carp at Zambia for agreeing to host the Conference, to jeer at its aims, to raise the 'Red Peril'. This attitude only exposed South Africa's fears. At this point, it is worth mentioning the expulsion of certain journalists from Zambia (which, in marked contrast to their treatment of every other aspect of the Meeting the Western Press strongly 'played up'!). First of all, these journalists abused the hospitality of the Zambian government by denigrating and disparaging Zambia's hopes and aspirations almost from the moment they arrived. Secondly the Western Press acted in what can only be called an extremely provocative manner by sending their representatives based in South Africa to cover the Conference. (Knowing the views of the non-aligned countries in general, and those of the Zambian government in particular, they could surely have sent journalists from other parts of the world, without difficulty?) President Kaunda himself commented with indignation on the fact that apartheid-minded South African journalists had actually asked for 'separate facilities'!

Towards South African Freedom

It is alas impossible here to report fully on the entire agenda covered by the Lusaka Summit. What can be described and appreciated is the strong stand which the Conference took on the question of Southern Africa and the Liberation Movements. The Conference was addressed by guest speakers from the ANC, FRELIMO, MPLA, ZAPU and

ZANU, all of whom were greeted and heard with enthusiasm by the delegates.

But it was not only the speakers for the Liberation Movements who raised the question of Southern Africa. Delegate after delegate, from President Tito to Mrs Gandhi, stressed its importance, firmly condemning the racist regimes and declaring their support for the freedom fighters. Not only was the Resolution on Apartheid and Racial Discrimination passed by the Conference vigorous in words – its contents included many positive promises of practical action. The Conference pledged itself not only to exert pressure on White South Africa's Western allies to discontinue their negative policies (a pledge of which we have already seen the fruits in vigorous action by several non-aligned leaders) but also to increase its support both moral and financial to the Liberation Movements in their struggle.

Yes, Vorster and his supporters have indeed cause for alarm at the militant decisions of this outstandingly successful and significant Conference.

Resolution on Apartheid and Racial Discrimination

The 3rd Non-Aligned Summit Conference meeting in Lusaka, Zambia from 8–10 September, 1970.

Recalling the OAU Resolution CM/Res., 232 (XV) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government at its Seventh Ordinary Session, the Belgrade and Cairo Declarations, and the Lusaka Declaration on southern Africa;

Noting with profound concern that South Africa arrogantly continues to pursue the policy of racial discrimination and apartheid in flagrant violation of various UN resolutions on human rights and fundamental freedom, including the policies of racial discrimination and apartheid;

Determined to institute effective measures with a view to restoring the human rights and fundamental freedoms of the non-white and oppressed people of South Africa;

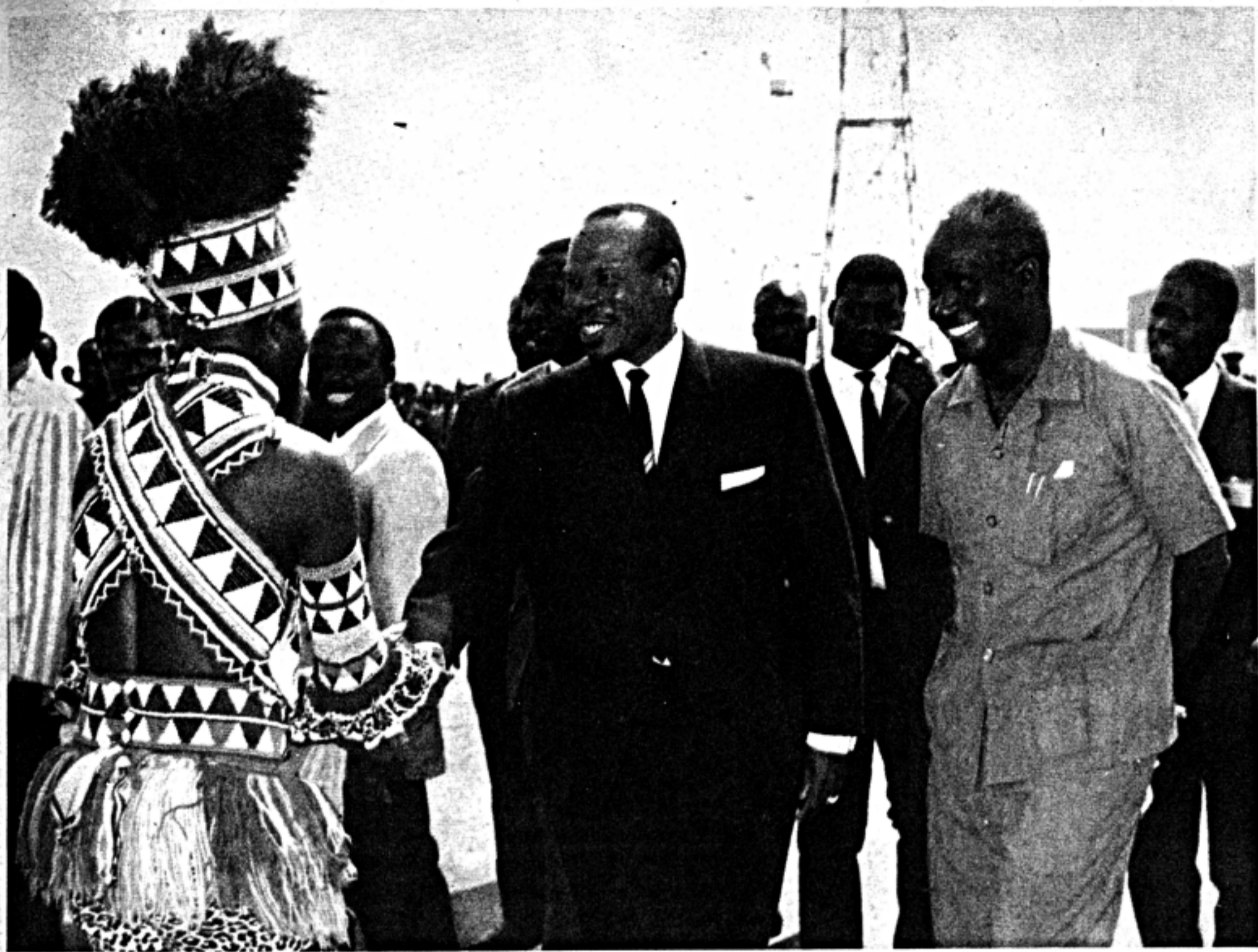
1. Fully endorse the OAU Resolution CM/Res. 232 (XV) adopted by the Assembly of Heads of State and Government at its Seventh Ordinary Session;

2. Re-affirms the legitimacy of the struggle of the oppressed people of South Africa against the policy of apartheid and racial discrimination in order to realise their human rights and fundamental freedoms;

3. Condemns any and every practice of torture, inhuman and degrading treatment of so-called 'prisoners' and detainees in South African prisons;

4. Also condemns the continued presence of South African forces in Angola, Mozambique and Zimbabwe which poses a further and continuing threat to human rights and fundamental freedom and demands their immediate and unconditional withdrawal;

5. Further condemns Sections 10 and 29 of the General Law Amendment Act, 1969, concerning the Bureau of State Security (BOSS) which not only constitutes one of the most sinister documents in history but also contributes decisively towards making South Africa a complete police state and



Presidents Seretse Khama and Kaunda

violates Article II (1) of the Universal Declaration on Human Rights;

6. Condemns those countries, in particular the United States, France, the United Kingdom, the Federal Republic of Germany, Italy and Japan, which, by their political, economic, and military collaboration with the Government of South Africa, encourage and incite that Government to persist in its racist policy;

7. Deplores the activities of the principal trading partners of South Africa, who, in defiance of appeals made by the OAU and the UN, have intensified their trade with, and increased their investments in South Africa, thus entrenching apartheid;

8. Strongly condemns those States which continue to sell military equipment to South Africa, or to help it produce arms and ammunitions, in violation of the resolutions of the General Assembly and the Security Council of the UN, and, in this regard, strongly deplores the declared intention of the UK Government to resume the sale of arms to South Africa;

9. Strongly urges the UK Government to reconsider forthwith its declared intention to resume the sale of arms of any description to the racist regime of South Africa;

10. Denounces South Africa's so-called 'outward-looking' foreign policy whose objective is to create by means of

economic and financial pressures a buffer zone of puppet States on its borders in order to defend and entrench apartheid and White Supremacy in Southern Africa;

11. Recommends to all non-aligned countries to refrain from entering into diplomatic, economic or relations of any other nature with South Africa, and recommends to all such non-aligned countries as may be maintaining such relations with South Africa to break them forthwith;

12. Solemnly affirms the needs for effective international action to bring an end to Apartheid, and thereby avoid the turning of this part of the continent into a blood-soaked battlefield, with incalculable consequence for international peace and security;

13. Expresses full support for and solidarity with the oppressed people of South Africa struggling for freedom and calls upon all countries to extend their moral and material assistance to this struggle for human rights and fundamental freedoms;

14. Calls upon all non-aligned countries to contribute financially and materially to assist the peoples fighting against colonialism, racial discrimination and apartheid in Africa through the Liberation Committee of the OAU;

15. Invites other states of the world to contribute to this cause.

**10,000 PROTEST
AT U.K.
ARMS SALES**

Massive Anti- Apartheid Rally in London

Representatives of the ANC the Church, Trade Unions and the AAM addressed the biggest yet anti-arms sales rally in London. Trafalgar Square, scene of many anti-apartheid meetings was filled with a mainly youthful crowd which had earlier marched through the streets of London shouting slogans vigorously.

After the meeting several hundred demonstrators marched to the city offices of Hawker Siddely to return to this collaborationist company a model of its Buccaneer aircraft.

Hundreds of police turned out making the scene reminiscent of the anti-South African sport demo clashes. If the Tories go through with their plans to sell arms to Vorster, Britain will see the biggest anti-apartheid struggles yet.





NO

ARMS

for

APARTHEID

SOUTH

AFRICA

OFF THE CUFF

A SECHABA INTERVIEW

NELSON MANDELA IS CONFIDENT OF VICTORY - says Denis Healey



Nelson Mandela

The former British Labour Minister of Defence Mr. Denis Healey MP recently visited Nelson Mandela in prison. Sechaba, always anxious for a first hand account of Mandela's circumstances, interviewed Mr. Healey on his impressions. It seems likely that the authorities permitted this unusual visit to reassure S.A.'s critics that political prisoners are well cared for. We know through personal experience that conditions are harsh in the extreme, so Mr. Healey's visit is not without value as a deterrent to the brutal jailers in South Africa.

Sechaba also asked Mr. Healey about his views on arms to South Africa. As the Minister previously responsible for Britain's Defence Mr. Healey operated the Simonstown Agreement and at one point favoured the sale of other arms.

Yet in opposition, he has changed his mind. We thought it would be helpful if Mr. Healey would explain why.

Q. Mr. Healey, you were recently on a visit to South Africa and able to see Nelson Mandela. Can you tell us about your visit and your impression?

A. My visit to Robben Island? Yes, I had about an hour talking to Nelson Mandela in the Governor's office in the presence of the Prison Commandant and the Deputy Commissioner of Prisons and the British Ambassador, so that inevitably our conversation was slightly circumscribed. But having known Nelson Mandela nine years ago when he was in exile, I was relieved to find that intellectually, morally and physically he was fighting fit. He wasn't in any way cast down by his experiences of the last eight years. He was completely confident of the victory of his cause and I couldn't help feeling that the obvious respect in which he was held by his gaolers owed a little to the possibility that he might, like so many in prison before him, go from prison to the Presidency. He has lost weight since he was in jail but physically he looks very fit. His morale is obviously high

and he talks about getting out of prison some time. He is of course very indignant, as I am too, that he and his fellow political prisoners get no remission for good conduct.

Q. Were there any restrictions on what you could talk about?

A. No. Only that imposed by natural discretion. I told him I had come to South Africa to make a speech to the students of Durban University and that it had been very well received by them but very badly received by the Government. He asked if he could have a copy of it and I proposed and the Prison Commandant agreed that I should send a copy through the authorities. I added that if the latter didn't think it suitable for Mr. Mandela, it would nevertheless do the Commandant a lot of good to read it.

Q. The authorities must have found it a little embarrassing that a former British Minister of Defence should want to visit Mandela - what made you seek him out?

A. Well, he is, as you know, the outstanding leader of the African Nationalist Movement in South Africa. I had formed a great respect and friendship for him when I met him with Oliver Tambo in 1961. I was very anxious to see him in order to ensure that his treatment was correct. My impression is that he and his fellow prisoners in the particular group are reasonably properly treated, and as you know they are visited annually by representatives of the International Red Cross. They have also been visited twice by Helen Suzman.

Q. Was he adequately clothed? For a long time he had no shoes and only short trousers to wear.

A. Well, it was spring when I was there and he was wearing a khaki uniform with a high collar and he was wearing shoes. He didn't complain about his personal treatment but he did say that he's not allowed to study the things that interest him most. He is studying law in prison and is receiving law books.

Q. You had no difficulty in arranging the visit?

A. I asked the SA Government about a month before, but I didn't get final agreement until the day before I went. He received no warning whatsoever.

Much Courageous Opposition

Q. One of the main purposes of your visit was to speak to South African students and other groups. What was the response of white South Africans to what you said?

A. I talked to people in three sorts of ways. In Cape Town, Durban and Johannesburg, I addressed mass meetings of students. In all of these the overwhelming majority of students enthusiastically supported what I said although there were minorities who did not. I also talked in each of the centres to groups of people, both white and black, in the churches, the newspapers and elsewhere who are working to diminish the barbarities of apartheid. I refer to the Black Sash and like organisations.

My most interesting impression there was how much courageous and vocal opposition there still is among English-speaking people at any rate, and this in spite of the fact that multi-racial organisations of a political nature are not allowed. Secondly, that contact for other than political purposes between white and black is more feasible than I thought. Quite a number of the Africans I met in company with whites were meeting these white people for the first time. Perhaps more could be done there. But I think the students, the churches and the English language press are doing an extremely courageous job especially as the laws under which they operate would permit them to be thrown into prison for almost any of the things they print. So far as NUSAS is concerned, they are extremely imaginative in trying to fight apartheid. They also help prisoners with their studies.

In the past year the S.A. Students Organisation had been set up to cover the students in the black universities but it seems that SASO collaborates closely with NUSAS. The reason for the new development is that the black students quite rightly believe that they must do things for themselves and not rely on white leadership and initiative all the time. I was very impressed by some of the black student leaders I met. The third category I met were individuals of importance like Chief Buthelezi who is chairman of the Territorial Authority in Zululand. Bishop Zulu, a number of extremely active and energetic young Africans in Soweto, a number of ex-detainees who have just been released and whose difficulties are very great. I met Mrs Ramotse and her son. I saw a good deal of Joel Carlson, the very courageous lawyer who has been defending Winnie Mandela and the others. I met members of the Coloured Labour Party in Cape Town and visited the appalling shanty town in Elsies River which is a so-called resettlement transit camp where people have been living for years — some of them with no drainage, no sewerage, no rubbish collection, no electricity and in many cases no nearby water. Very few of the whites I talked to had ever seen this place. I also met some representatives of the regime. I talked to Dr Muller, the Foreign Minister and a number of Nationalist and United Party M.P's at a dinner.

I Was Wrong On The Arms Issue

Q. Can we now turn to another matter, the question of arms for South Africa. The Times reported some time ago (26 October 1970) that you had been very active in attempting to reverse the Labour Government's position on arms sales to S.A. Was there any truth in this assertion?

A. The statement in the Times that earlier this year the S.A. government wanted to revise the Simonstown Agree-

ment and the suggestion that I supported this. This is absolutely untrue.

Q. Nevertheless, quite a number of people have been saying recently that you were active in trying to reverse the Labour Government's position on the arms embargo?

A. Let us get the record straight. Immediately following devaluation in 1967 when the Government was facing the need to make tremendous cuts in spending, a number of Ministers, of whom I was one, thought that no subject should be omitted from consideration and that if we were considering abolishing free school milk and meals, delaying the introduction of a higher school-leaving age, restoring prescription charges, we should also be looking at the possibility of selling some weapons to South Africa. I now think I was wrong even to support the matter being considered. But in the end we decided to rule it out, and that was the last time the matter arose.

Q. Thank you for your frank answer. Nevertheless I still want to take up a few points. The Labour Government did allow naval manoeuvres with South Africa not very long ago, spare parts were sold for military gear as well as ammunition, Impala aircraft were permitted to be manufactured and Marconi radar equipment was exported to South Africa. How do you account for this?

A. Radar is not forbidden under the U.N. embargo which refers only to arms, ammunition and military vehicles. But I think I should make some general observations. Firstly, we didn't make a tremendous fuss in 1955 when the Simonstown Agreement was made, so when we came into power in 1964 we didn't feel justified in cancelling contracts already made under the Agreement — contracts which covered the supply of equipment and spares. When we announced that we were going to impose a total embargo on future sales in 1964, we specifically excluded Buccaneer aircraft which hadn't been delivered yet and some other things. Secondly, while we still had substantial forces and military commitments east of Suez, the facilities of Simonstown were useful to the British Navy. And for that reason we used the facilities. We also had occasional very smallscale exercises with the S.A. Navy. I can well understand that there were some Africans as well as some English people who believe that we should have a total trade embargo, that we should break off diplomatic relations and so on but that isn't the policy of the Labour Party.

The difference between the Labour Party and Conservative Party is best demonstrated by the fact that I was told by the black people I met in S.A. that they regarded the defeat of Harold Wilson a defeat for them, and there's no doubt that Mr. Vorster regarded the victory of Mr. Heath as a victory for apartheid in South Africa.

Q. If it should happen that some of the ammunition supplied to the S.A. Government by the Labour Government were to be used at some future time against the liberation movement what would you say then?

A. The only ammunition we supplied was practice ammunition for naval vessels this could not be used in actual fighting.

Q. Would you say that if the present Government were to export arms to S.A. the British people would be right to demonstrate to the maximum against it?

A. I would make one point before answering. The situation now is very different from the situation in 1955. On this occasion the Labour Party is fighting against arms sales in public and we have warned the present Government and the S.A. Government that we would not honour contracts on this occasion and we will not send spare parts for equipment already delivered. This is of course a big advance on the position we held in 1964.

Q. What has brought this advance about? It is only a matter of months that the treaty was observed by the Labour Government?

A. Well, firstly, the Simonstown Agreement had nothing to say about arms except the supply of certain naval vessels all of which were delivered before Labour came into power and the supply of Buccaneer aircraft, nearly all of which were delivered. The S. A. Government argued, when we were in power, that the Agreement also obligated us to supply further equipment. But we always refused to accept that, and the only arms which we provided were those listed in the protocols to the Simonstown Agreement and the spare parts for those arms. You mustn't exaggerate because in fact no complete weapon has been delivered since 1965 when the last Buccaneer was delivered.

Apartheids Inhumanity

Q. You were able to speak to many people on your visit would you say that you have formed some sort of total impression of the country and how will this affect your attitude to South Africa in future?

A. First of all, I have a much stronger personal feeling about the inhumanity of apartheid than it is possible to have if you haven't seen it physically before your eyes.

Secondly, I am convinced that apartheid can't work as a system. Even the Bantustan policy would disrupt the whole of apartheid if it were properly applied. Similarly job reservation is totally incompatible with the growth in the white economy. That doesn't unfortunately mean that it will necessarily be replaced by democratic government in which everybody has a vote. I think the risk at the moment is that it will be replaced by something more like what exists in Rhodesia at present - without some of the baroque peculiarities of apartheid.

Secondly, I'm very impressed by the spread and courage of the opposition among some of the whites in S. A. Among the non-whites I think I could detect in many cases a loss of faith in any multiracial future for South Africa because segregation is having its effect on the psychology of the Africans as well as on Europeans. But the power and efficiency of the Security Police which has penetrated nearly all nascent African and other organisations in South Africa, is such that one cannot easily see in S.A. the sort of situation that exists today under FRELIMO in Mozambique. I can't see a clear answer to the problem, but provided everybody uses the opportunities they can get to try to get rid of this terrible system there is no cause for losing hope.

Q. Would you urge the British people to exert the greatest possible pressure against apartheid?

A. My own view is that we should segregate the segregationists, but that we should keep contact with those who believe in a multiracial society and are trying to bring it about.

Q. And do you feel that those who want to protest against the Tory proposals on the arms issue should also be encouraged?

A. I have encouraged them myself, as you know. The one thing I do think one should not encourage is violent protest because it is counter-productive.

Q. Are you in favour of supporting the liberation movements?

A. Well I certainly think they deserve moral encouragement but one would want to know precisely who they are, and what they're doing, how they're working with one another before deciding how much further to go.

**Antjie Krog,
a 17 year old
Afrikaans schoolgirl
has stunned her
backveld Kroonstad
community with
this poem.
Where there is so
much hatred a germ
of love yet grows.**



MY BEAUTIFUL LAND

**"Look, I am building myself a
land where skin means nothing,
just your understanding.**

**Where no goat face in Parliament
shouts to keep verkrampt
things permanent**

**Where I can love you
And lie next to you in the grass
without saying 'yes'in
church.**

**Where we can play the guitar
at night and sing**

**And bring jasmines for each
other.**

**Where I don't have to feed you
poison if a strange dove calls
in my ear.**

**Where no divorce court can
dim my children's eyes,**

**Where White and Black, hand
in hand,**

**Will bring peace and love to
my beautiful land."**

SEARCHLIGHT

Clandestine Newsletter Circulates in South Africa

Thousands of Indians in South Africa recently received a clandestine Newsletter from London entitled "Searchlight". According to press reports, the South African security police are "convinced that the Newsletter, which attacks apartheid, mass removals under the Group Areas Act, unemployment and education, is the work of a group of Indians who fled South Africa after the Rivonia Arrests."

The Newsletter states:-

This is the first issue of **Searchlight** which we hope to publish, initially as a quarterly, for distribution among the Indian people in South Africa. Everyone knows what the Government has done to prevent the non-white people from speaking up, organising and struggling against the injustices and tyranny of apartheid.

The organisations of the people, the ANC and the CP have been banned; the SAIC, the CPC and SACTU, although not legally banned, have been effectively silenced by a series of arrests and bannings imposed on all leading members of these people's organisations. Our community, like our African and Coloured brethren, is now not only voteless in the parliamentary sense but is also voiceless in the extra-parliamentary sense as well. It is for this reason that we have undertaken to produce this publication from abroad.

The only voice that is allowed to be heard with impunity, as far as our people are concerned, is the false voice of the infamous S.A. Indian Council - a dummy institution thrust down our throats by the powers that be.

This presents us with a challenge - a challenge we are called upon to meet with courage and determination. The true voice of the people must be heard loud and clear; we must use every means at our disposal and adopt new methods to help mobilise our people effectively for resistance against racial discrimination and apartheid measures.

The main task of organisation is without a shadow of doubt inside the country. No amount of state coercion can for long silence the voice of the people or dislocate their political organisation. As a matter of fact at this very moment there are many brave patriots in the country who are using their ingenuity, skill and imagination to help our people to fight back in an organised and united manner.

Searchlight in this situation has a useful role to play. Our reserves outside are being used to assist the forces inside the country to beat back the wall of silence imposed on the people by the enemy.

The endeavour and objective of this journal will be:-

- To deal with and objectively analyse such burning issues as mass removals under the Group Areas Act, the disastrous effect of Apartheid and ghetto life on the culture and social life of our people, unemployment, education, apartheid in sport and all other such issues affecting our daily life.
- To expose without fear or favour the treacherous role of the collaborators within our community.
- To give, as far as possible, a comprehensive picture of political activities among oppressed peoples - Africans, Coloureds and Indians alike - throughout the country.
- To bring into clear focus the role of our community as an integral part of the struggle of all oppressed peoples against apartheid and racial discrimination.
- To provide guidelines for the mobilisation of our people for continued resistance against apartheid tyranny.

GROUP AREAS ACT - THE ROAD TO RUINATION

It was 20 years ago, in 1950, that the Group Areas Act was placed on the statute book of our country. The basic aim of the Act was to carry into effect the recommendations of the Government committees which stated that the only solution to the so-called Indian Question lay in the compulsory repatriation of the Indians - failing which "there should be compulsory segregation to induce such repatriation". In other words, the intention of the Act is to make life so difficult for us that either we live as helots in ghettos or leave the country.

Being aware of the dire consequences which would beset them if they accepted the Group Areas, the Indian people stoutly opposed the implementation of the Group Areas Act and offered determined resistance under the leadership of the South African Indian Congress. When the Act was passed in 1950, the Congress warned the people that acceptance of the Group Areas Act would be nothing more than giving legal status for the establishment of ghettos where our people would be forced to lead a life of dishonour and shame, deprived of our lawful means of livelihood, our freedom of movement curtailed and controlled and our people completely cut off from the mainstreams of the general economic and cultural life of the country.

The Government, however, bent on putting into effect the provisions of the Act, resorted to coercion, intimidation and forceful evictions, expropriation of properties, arrests and bannings of those leading the people against this

iniquitous legislation. The true voice of the people had been temporarily silenced. But the Government soon realised that the resistance of the people cannot be completely destroyed by force, brutality and terrorism. It was forced to use more subtle methods and trickery in order to hoodwink the people and to appear to make the acceptance of the Group Areas more palatable. Dangling the carrot of the prospects of modern bazaars for trading purposes in an area like Fordsburg in Johannesburg, or near the centre of Klerksdorp, the Government obtained some support from a small section of our people. Again by encouraging the development of small scale Indian-owned industries and (because of the shortage of white labour) promising to make available employment hitherto the preserve of the whites, the Government has been able to neutralise sections of our people.

These subterfuges cannot deceive the community as a whole – although it is true to say that a small section which stands to derive some immediate benefit, has been lured into believing that apartheid is beneficial. One such Indian in Klerksdorp, assuming the role of spokesman for the Klerksdorp Indians, had the following to declare when the proposal to set up an Asiatic Bazaar in the area was first mooted: "We are looking forward to the move. They (the authorities) have given us a fair deal and we have nothing to complain about." What is a fair deal, we may well ask. How many of the Indians forced out of their businesses and deprived of their means of livelihood in Klerksdorp and Fordsburg will find a place in the new "bazaars"? And for how long will these "bazaars" be allowed to remain in Indian hands? Let us take the cases of Potchefstroom and Ladysmith. In both places, areas set aside for Indian occupation and developed at great effort and expense by our people have been redeclared "white areas" and the Indians have been forced to move into unsuitable areas miles away from the centre of towns of human habitation. Properties have either been confiscated or the owners forced to sell to the Group Areas Board at prices much lower than their current values. In 20 years the amount of land in Indian ownership and occupation has dwindled considerably. Twenty years of the operation of this Act has witnessed a process of frustration and demoralisation of our people as an integral part of the South African community. As for the small section of our people who have managed to get better paid jobs mainly because of the acute shortage of white labour – they should not be fooled into believing that apartheid is a blessing. It would be extremely naive to do so. At the first sign of the slowing down of the economic "boom" which South Africa is now enjoying as a result of the exploitation of cheap labour, the Nationalist Government will stringently implement the Job Reservation provisions of its industrial legislation. Is this what we are thankful for?

IN THE GHETTOES

In the ghettos of Lenasia, Chatsworth and elsewhere, into which our people have been herded, the social conditions of our people have deteriorated to a frightening extent. Whereas in the past such crimes as rape, murder, robbery and violence was almost unheard of in the community, today it is a daily occurrence in every township. Schools, transport, roads and other civic amenities are in a shocking state with local authorities spending less and less on the welfare of our people in "their" areas. This is not a phenomenon only in the Indian ghettos. Look at the African and Coloured ghettos. In these areas the

scandalous conditions that exist in Indian areas are repeated a thousand fold over. Neither is this only a South African phenomenon. Wherever people are or have been discriminated against on the basis of what is loosely termed race, and where such people have been herded into compounds and ghettos, conditions are and have been the same, growing worse as the years went by. This was the position of the Jews in Hitler's Germany and in Poland before the last war; of the minorities in old Tsarist Russia and of the black peoples in the ghettos of the United States.

In the Indian ghettos of South Africa a new and more vile problem is being created. Encouraged by the Government, Indians who have always avoided communalism are being divided on communal lines. Fanned by insidious Government propaganda purporting to support the cultural interests of the different sections of the community, Hindus and Moslems are being driven apart. Anyone who does not know the tragedy and heartache religious differences create, have only to look at India and Northern Ireland where, in this 20th century, religious bigotry is as violent and narrow as in the days of the Spanish Inquisition.

Economically 60% of Indian families live below the poverty datum line.

As far as educational opportunities are concerned there are fewer schools than before as a result of the forcible closing down of a large number of schools under the Group Areas Act. The overcrowding in schools, the colossal disparity between the salaries of Indian and white teachers, the different qualifications and degrees of white and Indian teachers coupled with the inability of many Indian parents to provide financially for their children's education, have all tended to lower the standard of education of the Indian people.

Life in the Group Areas is a tragic saga of insecurity, lack of facilities and social services, inadequate accommodation and the concomitant growth of crime, hooliganism, and strife – a life without honour and a picture without hope.

WHAT IS TO BE DONE

Searchlight urges the Indian workers to close ranks. They must join their trade unions and where none exist they must form trade unions to represent them so that their demands for higher wages, better working conditions and opportunities to do skilled jobs can be made in an organised manner. Normal trade union organisation may not be possible in many industries. Effective means and methods for obtaining their demands must be found. Whatever methods are used they must work in close co-operation and in unity with their fellow African and Coloured workers.

Searchlight urges students and youths, who will undoubtedly play extremely important and vital roles in the struggle that is developing in our country, to form units in their high schools, universities and areas with a view of studying the problems facing our people and also to study the various methods used by other underground movements especially those that functioned under the noses of the Nazis in occupied Europe during the last war. They must prepare and lead the people in matters affecting them.

Searchlight calls on the people living in the ghettos to organise into local organisations (the names of such organisations are immaterial) with a view to taking up matters affecting their everyday lives. Roads, lighting, lack of

transport and of police protection, police brutality and other elementary civic amenities which are scandalously neglected in these areas must be the focal point of campaigns by such organisations. The demand for better living conditions must be taken up vigorously and with the full backing of the whole community.

Searchlight urges all Indians, even at this late hour, to oppose and delay the establishment of Group Areas. Most important they must avoid, as much as possible, any contact with the Indian Council. We realise that very many necessities for the everyday running of their businesses, applications for pensions, etc. must be done through this Council. Even so, the members of this Council should be isolated and condemned. Showering them with unnecessary attention at social functions and elsewhere will not achieve anything. They are there to carry out Government policy and can do no more than just that.

Searchlight urges sportsmen and sports lovers to keep up the pressures against racist sport and to continue the magnificent fight for non-racial sport. Boycott all white sporting events. If the world could do this at our request and in solidarity with our people, then surely we can also do so. Our people must reject all bribes and attempts to divide us, and we must hold firm on the question of joining white bodies as second class members. The world supports the demand of our sportsmen for full and unfettered recognition and we should not weaken on this stand. Let our watchword be: **BOYCOTT ALL APARTHEID SPORT!**

Searchlight calls on all members of the teaching profession not to become stooges of the Indian Education Department which encourages spying and often bribes members with offers of better jobs in areas of their own choosing in order to divide them, thus making it easier for them to control both their bodies and their souls. They must utilise their positions to encourage our children to think for themselves. Let our children not leave school believing, as the Government wants them to believe, that all Indians are second class citizens and therefore fit only to be "hewers of wood and drawers of water". With care the teachers can inculcate the true history and culture of our people into the students so that our children will grow into men who will fight for their rightful place under the sun. Indian teachers must fight for equal pay for all teachers irrespective of race or colour.

Searchlight calls on all religious leaders – priests, maulvis, pundits and swamis – to use their influence in the community to direct our people away from the insidious poison that is being fed to them and driving the different religious groups apart. Preach the true gospel of unity, brotherhood and fraternity. Teach that we are one people whatever our religious beliefs may be. The growing danger of communalism must be destroyed and a true spirit of brotherhood must once again prevail among our people. They must stand for the essential unity of all South Africans.

These are the broad outlines of our policy and we hope in future to deal in depth with specific problems confronting our people. It is our earnest desire to serve our people and we hope we are able, in a small measure, to once again rally our people under the banner of resistance.

LET US HOIST ONCE MORE OUR BANNER OF STRUGGLE – A UNITED AND UNCOMPROMISING STRUGGLE FOR FULL FREEDOM FOR ALL IN OUR MOTHERLAND – SOUTH AFRICA!

Detainees are Hard to Crack

– says Minister of Justice

During the debate in the South African parliament on the Justice Vote, Mrs. Helen Suzman, while protesting at detention without trial in principle, also complained about the length of time detainees were being held before being released or brought to trial.

The Minister, P. C. Pelsler, to use his own words 'spent quite some time' explaining why this was necessary. Referring to detainees he said: "You do not get the truth out of them; you must detain them; you must interrogate them again and again. They have been taught to keep secrets . . ."

"It often happens that an accused is detained and that an important witness is perhaps ill or unconscious. When his statement is subsequently taken, it is discovered that he is in fact the person who should be charged . . ."

"I explained to hon. members this afternoon how difficult it is to crack these people; they have been taught to offer resistance, and for that reason they were originally detained under Section 6 of the Terrorism Act and not under Acts of 1966 . . ."

Hansard 10th September, 1970

BOOK REVIEWS

THE ANGOLAN REVOLUTION

by John Marcum

Volume 1
The Anatomy of an Explosion
(1950-1962)

Published by the M.I.T. Press,

Reviewed by Ruth First



Angola

MPLA zones of combat

Angola's war for liberation is in its ninth year. Augustinho Neto told the Rome Conference on the Portuguese colonies that the MPLA effectively controls more than one third of the country. Here power has already passed from the Portuguese coloniers to the MPLA and thence to the people. New battle fronts are opening in key regions: in Lunda, in north-eastern Angola which contains the rich foreign-owned diamond mines (DIAMANG), and in Malange where an important railway links this area to Luanda, the capital, and the coast. MPLA detachments are now reported to be fighting in ten of Angola's fifteen districts.¹

How it all began, from desperate and discouraging beginnings, is recorded in the first volume of John Marcum's book. Exploring the years 1950 to 1962, the book is invaluable as a documented account of the stirrings of revolt in what was the most brutal of all colonialism, certainly in Africa. It shows how diverse were the sources of resistance and how varied its expression through messianic

religious movements, through movements to restore the old African kingdoms, especially of the Bakongo, through tribal and ethnic cultural societies, literary, youth and 'assimilado' groups. It was these several streams of Angolan resistance that culminated in the violent outbreaks of 1961, and, in the ensuing years, in Angola's guerilla war for liberation.

CONFLICTING POLICIES OF VARIOUS MOVEMENTS

The book traces the origins and forms of the several national movements: the MPLA, urban-led in the beginning, ideological, non-racial (for mestizos played a prominent part and there was also important assimilado involvement with European left-wing movements); the UPA, later GRAE, led by Roberto Holden, traditional, rural, distinctly less ideological and ethnically based in the north; and out of the conflict between these streams, a third, UNITA, mostly based on the Ovimbundu people of the more southern areas led by a former Holden follower, Jonas Savimbi. Some of the reasons for disunity and discord between the Angolan movements will be familiar to those involved in and committed to a liberation struggle, for they are real issues. There is the conflicts between the

(footnote: 1. For the progress of the war and the tactics of the guerilla struggle, the pamphlets of the Liberation Support Movement (in Canada) are invaluable. Write 7525 Rosewood Street, Burnaby 1, British Columbia, Canada for a booklist and especially interviews with Spartacus Maonimambu and Daniel Chipenda.)

style of personal authoritarian leadership and the search for collective styles of decision-making. There is the conflict between reformist solutions and far-reaching revolutionary change, and, as the struggle grows, the problem of how to build not an African elite privileged in place of the Portuguese, but real people's power. There are the problems for the struggle caused by leaderships and movements that entrench themselves in 'home' regions and among their tribal or ethnic followers, and by contrast those fired by a wider Angolan nationalism. There are the pulls and divisions caused by exile politics, of leaders who have lived outside their countries too long and have adapted to the diplomatic round rather than to the struggle in the field and among the people. There is the growth of vested interest, even among guerilla leaders, that comes from an entrenched, relatively stable position in a limited area and that permits the development of 'mountain-topism'.

This book by no means answers or even explicitly poses these questions. But in the course of a long detailed but nevertheless strikingly well-controlled narrative of events that were at times tortuous in the extreme, it becomes clear why and how this movement responded in one way, and that in another.

Of the several streams of Angolan resistance the first developed in the capital Luanda and spread to the hinterland to the east of it inhabited mainly by the Mbundu people where the Portuguese impact was intense. Here grew a volatile African proletariat, says Marcum, whose simmering discontent needed only organisation and leadership to become a strong political force. Outspoken

poets flowered here, and the first Marxist groups. The MPLA grew out of a number of the clandestine groups that worked, often unknown to one another, in the capital. It was formed in about 1953; it argued for revolutionary struggle from its earliest days. The parallels with South Africa are compelling. The PIDE (which set to work in Angola in 1957) staged massive round-ups of suspects and framed lengthy indictments which led to long prison sentences. The leadership structure inside the country was broken up; it became necessary to establish an external exile organisation. It was from 1960, when still based in Conakry, that the MPLA launched a programme to unite all exiled Angolan nationalists and to prepare direct action inside the country.

Meanwhile, even before the political agitation in the capital culminated in the 1961 attempt to free political prisoners from Luanda gaol, rebellion was fermenting in the interior among the rural eastern Mbundu. In this region cotton is grown by forced labour, there are no wages and at the end of the season the villagers are forced to sell their product to a cotton concession firm. The rebellion also in 1961, took the form, of a phopphet-protest movement known as Maria's war, after the prophet leader Antonio Mariano.

PEASANT REBELLION

Rebellion also ignited among the peasants of the old Kongo kingdom which straddles the area in the north of Angola and the south of Congo-Kinshasa. The Bakongo



people have always flowed backwards and forwards across the boundary and see themselves as one community with fellow Bakongo ruled by either the French (Congo-Brazzaville) the Belgians or the Portuguese. Among the Bakongo there were two currents: on the one hand agitation for the restoration of the old Kingdom and its kingship and on the other, among the Bakongo eastwards, religious protest and, then, self-help programmes supported by a growing class of traders and white collar workers along both sides of the border. This book has a fascinating account of attempts to restore the Kongo kingship and infuse it with real power, and how, when this failed, as fail it had to under the Portuguese, the Bakongo royalists turned in frustration to organise a sub rosa political movement in the search for political reform.

It was then that the centre of Bakongo political activity shifted from Sao Salvador and Matadi in Angola to Leopoldville in the Congo, and it is at this point that Holden Roberto (who was born in Angola but lived in the Congo from the age of two) comes into the picture, to rest heavily on the contacts he had in the newly-independent Congo government so that his movement the UPA had an early advantage in a suitable jumping-off place for an armed force.

But Roberto considered this basic advantage for the An-

golan movement his sphere of influence and as often as the MPLA made proposals for unity of action so repeatedly Roberto turned them down flat. In late 1960, for instance, while Roberto was lobbying at the United Nations other representatives of his movement met with MPLA leaders and some from other movements and agreement was reached for a common front that would fall short of full merger, would not entail the dissolution of existing parties but would loosely coordinate their activities. Roberto hurried back to Leopoldville to undo this agreement. A struggle within the leadership of the UPA followed but Roberto won the day and the UPA withdrew from the front.

MPLA FOR UNITED ACTION

By 1961 the MPLA was able to move its headquarters from Conakry to Leopoldville. Once again it launched its campaign for a common front for the struggle. Not long after there was the tragic Ferreria affair when an MPLA patrol in action in Angola was wiped out by UPA militia. At first the UPA blamed the attack on the Portuguese but subsequently Roberto confirmed that he had given orders to intercept and annihilate the MPLA columns that were trying to penetrate into Angola from the north. There





MPLA in action

followed other clashes in military combat between UPA and MPLA forces and also fierce fratricidal leadership clashes within the UPA itself.

Marcum's description of Roberto's style of leadership is revealing: "Most of the important decisions were made personally and exclusively by Roberto Holden, acting through the UPA but in the name of GRAE and on the advice of a small and fluctuating number of Angolan associates and Congolese mentors. His Congolese mentors in this period were, of course, Adoula and Bomboko, and for their mentors see the American policy on the Congo and on Angola of which, too, Marcum has significant things to say, however obliquely.

International pressure on Portugal, which reached a peak in mid-1961 subsided after 1962, when the United States, which had at first broken NATO ranks to vote against Portugal at the UN, reversed its policy after Lisbon threatened America with the loss of the strategic Azores bases. As Marcum says, once UN resolutions moved beyond the level of condemnation towards collective action and threatened retaliation against military or economic interests of the western powers, especially the US, the US drew back from the confrontation.

Pressure exercised from outside and from within Africa seemed so neatly to converge. In 1963 the MPLA was expelled from Congo-Kinshasa and its militants imprisoned there, its arms and supplies seized. Because this frontier into Angola is closed to them, the MPLA guerillas are obliged to make a detour of about 6,000 kilometres, to arrive in a zone they might have reached by travelling

300 kilometres. This has considerably slowed down – but it has not stopped! – the pace of the liberation struggle.

NEW OFFENSIVE

It took the next phase of the struggle – about which John Marcum promises a sequel volume – for the MPLA to open a new offensive through a new front along the East adjoining Zambia, and through this advancing offensive to transform the liberation war from the period of stalemate in the North where Holden Roberto was content to preside over his sphere of influence by the assertion of his Bakongo links.

Much has been written about the source of division between the UPA under Holden Roberto and the MPLA. Daniel Chipenda, one of the MPLA leaders is very explicit on this point and much of Marcum's material reinforces it: 'The main thing which separates the MPLA from puppet groups such as the GRAE and UNITA is that MPLA is concerned with the Angolan National liberation movement while these other groups are fighting to advance the cause of tribalism, regionalism and racialism. We don't see any significant differences between UNITA and Roberto's group, because their methods and their basic goals are the same. Within MPLA there is no division on this point: we all agree on the objective of unifying ALL of our people in order to struggle against Portuguese colonialism. If anyone wants to define this position in ideological terms, then let them go ahead – this is our position.'

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA

A Short History Published by the A.N.C.

Reviewed by F. Meli

The historical consciousness in the African National Congress of South Africa is as old as African nationalism itself. P. ka I. Seme— among the early pioneers — was perhaps the most outspoken champion of a revised South African history. As early as 1906 — still a student — he demanded: "Oh for that historian who, with the open pen of truth, will bring to Africa's claim the strength of written proof. He will tell of a race whose onward heart bondage has not quenched the fire of former years. He will write that in these later days of honour too, of whom she is not ashamed."

He went on to say that Africa's sons "who have been proved through fire and sword, are marching to the future golden door bearing the records of deeds and valour done". This awareness of the importance of a revised written history of the African people was not only an expression of the need to counteract the myth which is called the South African history by the White historians but also the necessity to evaluate our history in the light of facts and intergrate it into the general social consciousness of the masses.

In this pamphlet the ANC analyses South African history from the beginning of White settlement up to the "Armed Struggle" and "Morogoro Conference". Unlike the history taught in South African schools, the ANC pamphlet treats Africans as makers of history not as passive objects moulded

and "civilised" by the Whites. It starts from the premise that the different national groups in South Africa fought vigorously at various times with different methods and "our people were never conquered by the Boers" p.6. The British imperialists finally completed the job with the "unification" of the country.

The formation of the ANC is a milestone in the history of our people. "The most astonishing feature of that conference was the number of tribes who sent representatives. They were Zulus, Xhosas, Tswanas, Sothos, Vendas, Shangaans, Tongas and others. These tribes . . . had looked upon each other with suspicion". This period was a transition from the "traditional" forms of struggle to the modern form of organisation. This was due to socio-economic changes which naturally brought about his new social force (intellectuals and workers). From the very onset the African National Congress adopted an anti-colonial and anti-imperialist line. The African National Congress was never nationalistic in the narrow sense. It attended the Pan African Congresses which were organised by Du Bois. Worthy of note is the fact that the ANC was the first African organisation to adopt Pan Africanism (which in the parlance of today can be termed African unity) as its creed. This is in its programme, the then provisional constitution of 1919. This is important because in 1958 some South African renegades trying to exploit the sincere aspirations of our people to integrate themselves with their brothers and sisters in the continent decided to call themselves the "Pan Africanist Congress of South Africa". They failed.

The post-war period is characterised by the rise in militancy of African Nationalism, the emergence and consolidation of a united front of all the oppressed and direct mass action. Although the forms of struggle (demonstration, strike, petitions) were not new in the ANC, what was remarkable about them was the impact and mobilising effect they had on the masses. The relation of forces internationally has also to be taken into consideration, namely, dying colonialism and imperialism on one side and the triumphant socialism on the other.

There are some anti-colonial movements which one would have liked mentioned in the pamphlet. We have in mind the APO of Abduraman, Indian Congress of Ghandi, ICU of Kadalie, the ISL of Andrews. The inter-relation and mutual influence of these movements still awaits research. What about the impact and influence, direct and indirect, of the October Revolution on our national liberation movement?

This pamphlet — it is not the first of its kind — is a great contribution to the young militant anti-Apartheid historiography. This would have delighted Seme, The masses — it is said — make history. Through their labour, blood and lives they make history. If the masses are makers of history, surely they are the legitimate writers of history. This pamphlet can be taken as a guide to these makers and writers of history — the masses.