

Sechaboa



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SUPPING WITH THE DEVIL

Reprint of an editorial on the Malawi-South African trade agreement, published in 'MAYIBUYE', organ of the Zambian office of the African National Congress.

Malawi is very busy these days — supping with the devil. The flirtation of the Malawi government with the anti-African regimes of Portugal, South Africa and Rhodesia is a sordid affair which has aroused the indignation of all lovers of African freedom. Those of us who have closely followed political events in Malawi for the past decade and more, find it difficult to reconcile the militant, honourable and fighting Malawi of pre-independence days with the present turn of events in the country.

CRUDE APPROACH

At the request of the people of Malawi, headed by the Nyasaland African Congress, Dr Banda returned from voluntary exile in Ghana and stormed into Central African politics with a rather crude and unorthodox approach. We still remember Dr Banda's noisy phrasemongering: the shouts of "to hell with the Federation"; "I will break this stupid Federation"; "stupid Welensky"; stupid this and stupid that.

So 'ultra' was his stand vis-a-vis the Federation that he refused Federal funds to build a hospital in Malawi (then Nyasaland); no Malawi students were permitted in the Federal University and generally Dr Banda did his best to have nothing to do with the Federation . . . all because the Federation had been imposed on them against the will of the African people and was hated by them.

We all said 'hear, hear' to Dr Banda, although many of us intensely dislike demagogy.

ALL BELONGS TO BANDA

But our concern was soon aroused when Dr Banda and some of the Malawi leadership started to feel that they alone possessed the answers to the problems of the independence struggle. That was the time when they began to call many of us freedom-fighters 'cowards' and 'spineless', lecturing to us as if we did not know that we cannot get our independence from political offices based in Accra, Dar-es-Salaam, etc.

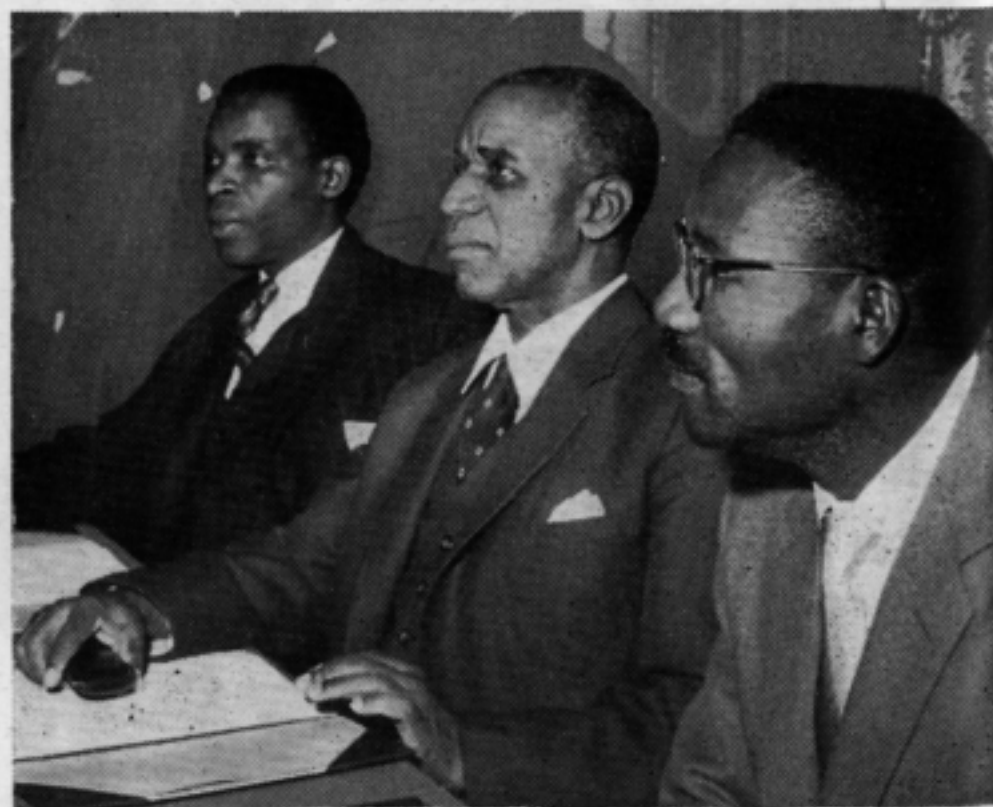
While we were still puzzling out this new trend, we were jolted by the words of a new song in Malawi: "Everything here belongs to Kamuzu Banda, the Ministers, the grass, the women . . ."! Then, at the second OAU Conference held in Cairo, the Malawi Foreign Minister, who was presiding over one of the Commissions, chased the Freedom-Fighters out of the hall, although the matter being discussed directly affected them.

At the Malawi Independence Celebrations in 1964, freedom-fighters from Southern Africa were not invited — instead, government officials from Mozambique and Rhodesia were honoured guests.

CABINET CRISIS

We believe that the Malawi Cabinet crisis which took place shortly after Independence resulted from the fact that the patriotic sons and daughters wanted to halt an unprincipled drift of Malawi foreign policy towards anti-African reaction and appeasement with the fascist and racist regimes of Portugal, Rhodesia and South Africa. As we know, on that occasion Dr Banda won the day.

And what does Dr Banda say in his own defence? In a typically vociferous Banda fashion, he excuses his signing of a trade agreement with the South African government by saying:



Dr Hastings Banda and two of his deputies, in London

"Sending a mission to South Africa does not mean we in this country agree with Apartheid. It does not mean we agree with imperialism and colonialism. Far from it. I am as strong an African nationalist as anyone else, if not a better one and a stronger one, *but I have to face realities.*" (Our emphasis)

WHAT ARE THE REALITIES?

Yes, we fully understand that Malawi and other African states in Southern Africa who, through no fault of their own, are economically dependent on White minority regimes, should face realities.

Yes, we ourselves have said all the time that the independence of Africa will only have meaning if and when South Africa is free.

Therefore, Dr Banda, there are other realities we have to face. One reality is that some 30 million Africans are oppressed by various racist-fascist regimes in Mozambique, Angola, Rhodesia, South Africa and South West Africa. And they are determined to win their freedom. It is a reality that in the extremely difficult conditions under which they have to fight, they need the help of the independent African states — including Malawi.

ZAMBIA HELPS

If Dr Banda is "as strong a nationalist as anyone", why is it that Mozambique Freedom-Fighters are experiencing such difficulties in prosecuting their independence struggle from Malawi? Zambia is faced with similar economic problems to Malawi — but look at the difference in postures of the two countries with regard to the freedom-fighters. Zambia is positively helping the freedom-fighters. Malawi is not.

When the Smith regime seized 'independence' in Rhodesia, what did we hear from Malawi? Not a word of encouragement to the Africans: but instead Dr Banda tried to frighten Africa with stories that the Rhodesian Air Force could destroy half of Africa's cities — Dr Banda's realities!

Moreover, we who are engaged in a life-and-death struggle for our independence greatly resent attempts by those who trade with our enemies to make us scapegoats and seek to excuse themselves by calling us cowards. For, gentlemen, *the very fact of your economic dependence* on these racist states testifies to their strength and to the difficulty of the struggle to overthrow them.

CRUMBS OF BREAD

Yes, Doctor, there are realities to be faced. One other bitter truth and reality is this: on the one hand we have African patriots who realise that political independence does not automatically bring about economic independence. These patriots are intensifying the struggle against neocolonialism and aiding the struggle against the South African regime, the bastion of imperialism and neo-colonialism Africa.

On the other hand there are those Africans who would trade African freedom for crumbs of bread from the white man's table. *Shame on them!*

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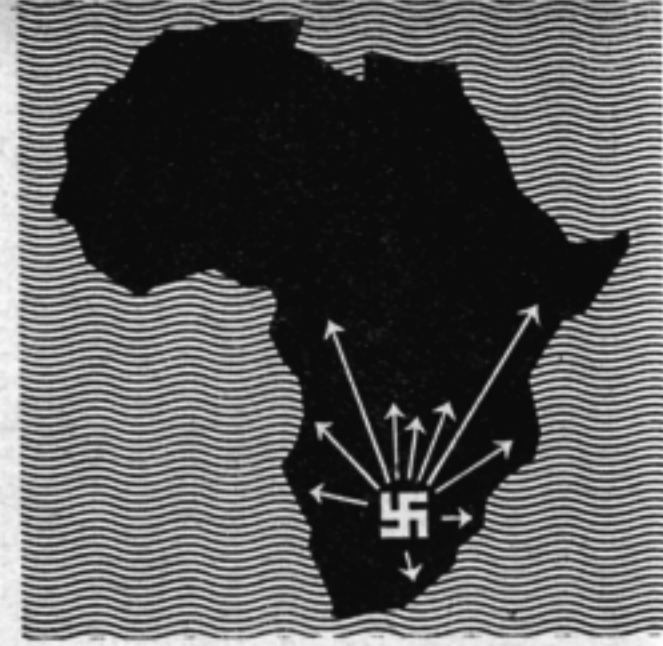
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COVER: On 5 February 1967, Mwalimu Julius Kambarage Nyerere, President of the United Republic of Tanzania, disclosed at a meeting attended by tens of thousands of people in Dar-es-Salaam, the context of the historic Arusha Declaration, which spelt out the country's policy of Socialism and Self-Reliance. Our cover shows the President addressing the crowd with a copy of the Declaration in his hand. The ANC's views on the Arusha Declaration and the steps leading to it, were reported in *SECHABA* No. 3 (article entitled "A Great Step Forward"), and in *SECHABA* No. 5 (article entitled "Arusha, Africa, and Socialism").

EXPANSION INTO AFRICA



There can surely be few developments so significant for the future of Africa as the recently revealed growth of cordial intimacy between South Africa and a number of newly independent African states. Illicit links between South Africa and other African states have always been suspected. Trade has never been denied. But the recent escalation of South Africa's economic and diplomatic offensive into Africa has a new determination contrasting ominously with her policy of isolation from Africa.

What are the reasons that have impelled South Africa into taking a step which she knows must have far-reaching consequences for her future? Already, South Africa has received an official ministerial delegation from Malawi, and in the process has had to make ridiculous but nevertheless important modifications in her apartheid structure in order to accommodate the all-African delegation. There must be urgent reasons to persuade the leader of the racist Nationalist Party to condescend to drink a cup of tea with persons whom his entire philosophy teaches him to despise. Indeed, it must be clear that there are factors which are forcing South Africa's rulers into closer ties with Africa. We shall examine here some of the economic factors which are making this so vitally necessary.

Ever since the discovery of precious metals late last century, South Africa has experienced remarkable economic growth. Early on, however, development was almost exclusively in mining and agriculture. To that extent South Africa was a typical colony, exporting raw materials and using the proceeds to buy manufactured goods from the industrialised countries.

Starting with the increase in the gold price in 1932 however, there were a series of economic 'miracles' that laid the foundation for profound changes. The economy raced ahead. The National Income increased from £226,600,000 in 1932 to £585,600,000 in 1949 to £995,000,000 in 1960, (constant prices).

Prosperity attracted investment while causing an upsurge in the standard of living and thus an increased demand for manufactured goods; labour was cheap, so that industrialists started to move away from an exclusive interest in mining and increased emphasis on the production of manufactured goods.

MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY GROWTH

Year	No. of estabs.	Employment	Salaries and wages	Gross output
1924—25	6,182	131,562	£ 14.524 m	£ 66.295 m
1938—39	8,614	236,123	27.848 m	140.587 m
1944—45	9,316	361,004	67.353 m	304.083 m
1954—55	13,725	625,635	216.416 m	1110.388 m

SECTOR DISTRIBUTION OF NATIONAL INCOME

Sector	1930	1940	1950	1960
Agriculture	13.9 %	11.8 %	13.1 %	11.7 %
Mining	17.3	22.8	13.6	13.3
Pvt. Manufacture	15.4	17.5	22.1	24.6

The growth of a manufacturing industry involves a radical change in the *nature* of the economy. The first problem arising in a manufacturing economy is that of markets.

As a producer of minerals and agricultural goods South Africa had no problem in disposing of her produce. The industrialised countries needed these raw materials and the giant factories of Europe and America were devouring them faster than the colonies could supply them. The only problem facing South Africa was how to produce the greatest amount in the shortest possible time and in the cheapest manner — in other words, how to exploit the indigenous population most effectively.

THE PROBLEM OF MARKETS

With the emergence of a manufacturing industry, however, the problem of markets came to the fore. In the beginning, of course, South African industrialists could sell their manufactured goods on the domestic market — to the South African population. Through import control and like restrictions the Government could prevent the manufactured goods of other countries from entering South Africa. In this manner the S.A. manufacturing industry would be protected from adverse competition and the S.A. population would be forced into buying S.A. goods. This was in fact done, and much of the early progress of the manufacturing industry in South Africa is attributable to such protectionist policies. But protectionism and isolation did not provide a lasting solution.

In the first place, the South African population simply does not have enough money to buy the products of a highly developed manufacturing industry. We must remember that such terms as 'demand' and 'market' have very little to do with hunger and nakedness and want. The fact that a man has no food does not, in their understanding of economics, mean that he produces a 'demand' for food. Oh no! He must have money. The fact that millions of people go in want of clothing does not in itself mean that there is a 'demand' or a 'market' for clothing in the country. If that were the case the South African clothing and food factories would be working overtime, so great is the need for these basics. But no: the decisive factor for the owner of the factory is not whether there is a need, but whether the needy person has the money to buy. For the owners of the manufacturing industry, therefore, the South African population — consisting in the main of millions of underpaid Africans — holds out only 'limited pos-

sibilities' as a consumer of manufactured goods. The emphasis consequently has to remain on export. South Africa's efforts to sell her manufactured goods abroad were not entirely unsuccessful, as this table shows:

VALUE COMPOSITION OF EXPORTS

Year	Agric. Prods.	Minerals, Metals	Gold	Manuf. Goods
1936—37	£ 23.9 m	8.3 m	82.8 m	3.8 m
1952—53	103.5	105.5	141.1	92.4
1956—57	147.5	143.3	198.7	107.5

But the markets of the world are hard to penetrate. The highly developed industrial countries dominate their own domestic and other markets. If South Africa's manufacturing industry was to expand, new markets would have to be found. The only other alternative was the developing countries — Africa.

At this stage it may be useful to point out that the growth of the manufacturing industry is not a transient phenomenon, an opportunistic venture. On the contrary, the South African authorities realise that manufacturing must become the basis of the economy. The mining industry cannot last forever. It is a wasting asset. The growth of the manufacturing industry is *necessary*. Therefore the finding of markets is necessary. In other words, South Africa is forced into trade relations with the developing countries.

EXPORTS TO DEVELOPING COUNTRIES

One could point out at this stage that, contrary to the expectations to which the preceding analysis may lead us, the main markets for South Africa's exports are in fact the highly-developed countries such as Britain, the USA, Western Europe etc. This is true — as far as *total exports* are concerned. But a closer study will show that there has been a "significant shift in export destinations, from industrialised to less developed countries, accompanied by a shift in the type of export goods, from raw materials to manufactured articles."

It can also be shown that of the total exports to the industrialised countries, 65.6% consisted of raw materials and fresh products, 28.6% consisted of products of primary and extractive industries, and only 5.8% consisted of products from manufacturing industry. On the other hand, of the total exports to the less developed countries, 9.9% consisted of raw materials, 17.7% consisted of products from the extractive industries, and 72.4% consisted of manufactured goods.

The actual figures are no less convincing than the percentages. Our concern being mainly with Africa, we reproduce only the figures for that continent.

SOUTH AFRICA'S SALE TO THE REST OF AFRICA

1963 . . .	£60,500,000
1964 . . .	65,000,000
1965 . . .	73,500,000
1966 . . .	97,000,000

Last year South Africa exported £97 million worth of goods to Africa and imported £64½ million worth of goods from Africa. Her exports had risen by £23½ million over the previous year while her imports had risen by only £10½ mil-

lion. And although much of the increased trade can be accounted for by developments in Rhodesia, there is sufficient evidence to support the view of the *'Financial Mail'* that there should be an annual rise of some £1½ million in South Africa's exports to Africa — excluding Rhodesia and Zambia! In other words, South Africa's expansion into Africa cannot be regarded merely as a tactical move or a temporary outlet. Our analysis shows clearly that trade — with its diplomatic and other concomitants — with Africa is dictated by circumstances inside South Africa. So long as these objective circumstances remain — the growing manufacturing industry, the limited domestic market, the difficulty of penetrating overseas markets — South Africa can be expected to step up its drive into Africa.

This is a situation that newly independent Africa must face squarely: for economic ties with South Africa — innocent as Banda may claim they are — must necessarily threaten and undermine the independence of Africa.

(This article is an edited version of one which appeared in *Mayibuye*, Volume II, Number 3, 1967.)

NEWS ITEMS

The War in Angola

The Portuguese news agency Ani said guerillas attacked the Benguela railway earlier this year, west of the town of Teixeira de Soosa, near the Congo border, and halted traffic on the line.

According to well-informed sources, the insecurity of the area (which is under frequent guerilla attack) will make repair of the line difficult.

Earlier, a Government spokesman declined to comment on the interruption, which has suspended Congolese copper shipments through Angola to the port of Lobito.

This was the fifth attack on the Benguela railway. The previous attacks took place in October last year, in December and at the beginning of March.

Sabotage Planned

A defence witness in the sabotage trial at the Rand Supreme Court claimed in May that he was in Lesotho on the day it was alleged he was at a meeting in Johannesburg at which the derailing of trains was suggested.

Mr Julius Monnamoholo was giving evidence at the trial of Everitt Tsolo Kalake and Keketso Bernard Moalosi, who have pleaded not guilty before Mr Justice Marais of incitement to commit sabotage.

The State alleges that as members of the Basutoland Congress Party, the men incited a number of their countrymen to derail trains, get explosives, cut overhead wires, set trains on fire and "attack the White section in South Africa."

Mr Monnamoholo, whose name appears on the charge sheet as one of the people who were incited, said he had gone to Lesotho on 13 January this year and had returned two days later.

There was evidence that at a meeting at Kalake's house in Jabavu near Johannesburg on 14 January this year, Kalake had suggested derailing trains used by Whites.

Mr Monnamoholo said he had never heard that the Basutoland Congress Party was against the South African government.

PARIS: ANTI-APARTHEID CONFERENCE A RESOUNDING SUCCESS



On the Conference platform, Mr Jean Jacques de Felice, chairman of the Conference, makes a point. On the far right is Mr Brian Bunting, S.A. author and journalist.

'Apartheid Conference a Damp Squib', reported the Paris correspondent of the Johannesburg *Rand Daily Mail* on 8 May this year.

He was commenting on the European Conference called by the French Anti-Apartheid Committee which took place in Paris on May 6 and 7. In a report full of inaccuracies and distortions, the 'Mail' correspondent tried to maintain that, after four years of preparation, the organisers had been compelled to admit that they had failed to achieve their target. The conference, he said, was poorly attended, and was ignored by press, radio and television.

200 DELEGATES

Perhaps it was because the 'Mail' correspondent relied on press, radio and television coverage, instead of going to see for himself, that he was so poorly informed. For the conference was no flop. Some leading figures were absent — Jean-Paul Sartre (at the Vietnam War Crimes Tribunal in Sweden), and Achkar Marof (chairman of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid, in

Guinea). But the list of those present was most impressive: leading politicians from French opposition parties and groups of all shades, trade unionists, peace groups, writers (including South African Breyten Breytenbach), academicians (including at least one member of the Institute), lawyers, journalists, clerics; as well as delegates from Belgium, Ireland, Holland, Switzerland, West Germany, Denmark, Sweden, and a group of South African exiles from London. In all a total of 200 delegates were present. Observers were present from the UN itself and from UNESCO. The plenary session was addressed by Mr Pilane-Ndebele of the Zimbabwe African Peoples Union, who roused the delegates with a stirring address on the situation in Rhodesia. Mr Kanjiro Noma of Japan presented a report on the work of the growing Anti-Apartheid movement in his country.

Far from taking four years to prepare, the Conference was called at comparatively short notice, and was the first of its kind held on French soil. Its success in focusing attention on South Africa at a time when, in the 'Mail's' own

words (20 April) France is "the one major Western power which has not followed Britain and the United States in imposing an arms embargo against this country (South Africa)", was all the more remarkable.

ACHKAR MAROF'S ADDRESS

Mr Marof's introductory address, which was read for him at the Conference, set the tone for the whole session. Following a scathing exposure of the immorality of apartheid, Mr Marof was compelled to acknowledge that the appeals of the oppressed people of South Africa for aid had so far gone unanswered by the United Nations.

"We are compelled to conclude that the forces ranged against us" he said, "are not only the racists of South Africa but powerful accomplices abroad, particularly the economic interests which profit so greatly from the oppression in South Africa . . . The actions of these powerful collaborators with South African racism have encouraged the proponents of apartheid in their madness, and shielded them from effective international pressure . . . Indeed, at present, even the arms embargo is being turned into a ghastly farce with offers of submarines and planes, no doubt at a respectable profit, stained with blood."

SALVATION THROUGH VIOLENCE

The *Rand Daily Mail* reported only five words out of Mr Marof's brilliant 5,000 word address — and those five words were chosen to show that in Mr Marof's opinion, attempts at sanctions were a total failure. No doubt the 'Mail's' pro-apartheid readers were greatly encouraged.

What the readers of the 'Mail' were not told was that in Achkar Marof's opinion, the failure of the world to take effective action had "forced the South African freedom movement, noted for its patience and pacifism during 50 years of struggle to conclude that there is no salvation except through violence." He added: "We who have tried in the international field to promote effective peaceful measures to solve South Africa's problem cannot, in all honesty, disagree with that assessment . . ."

Mr Marof warned the world not to be deceived by the myth of South African strength and invincibility. "Mightier powers have been defeated on the battle-fields of liberation wars of oppressed peoples . . . The so-called strength of South Africa is based on the labour of an oppressed majority.

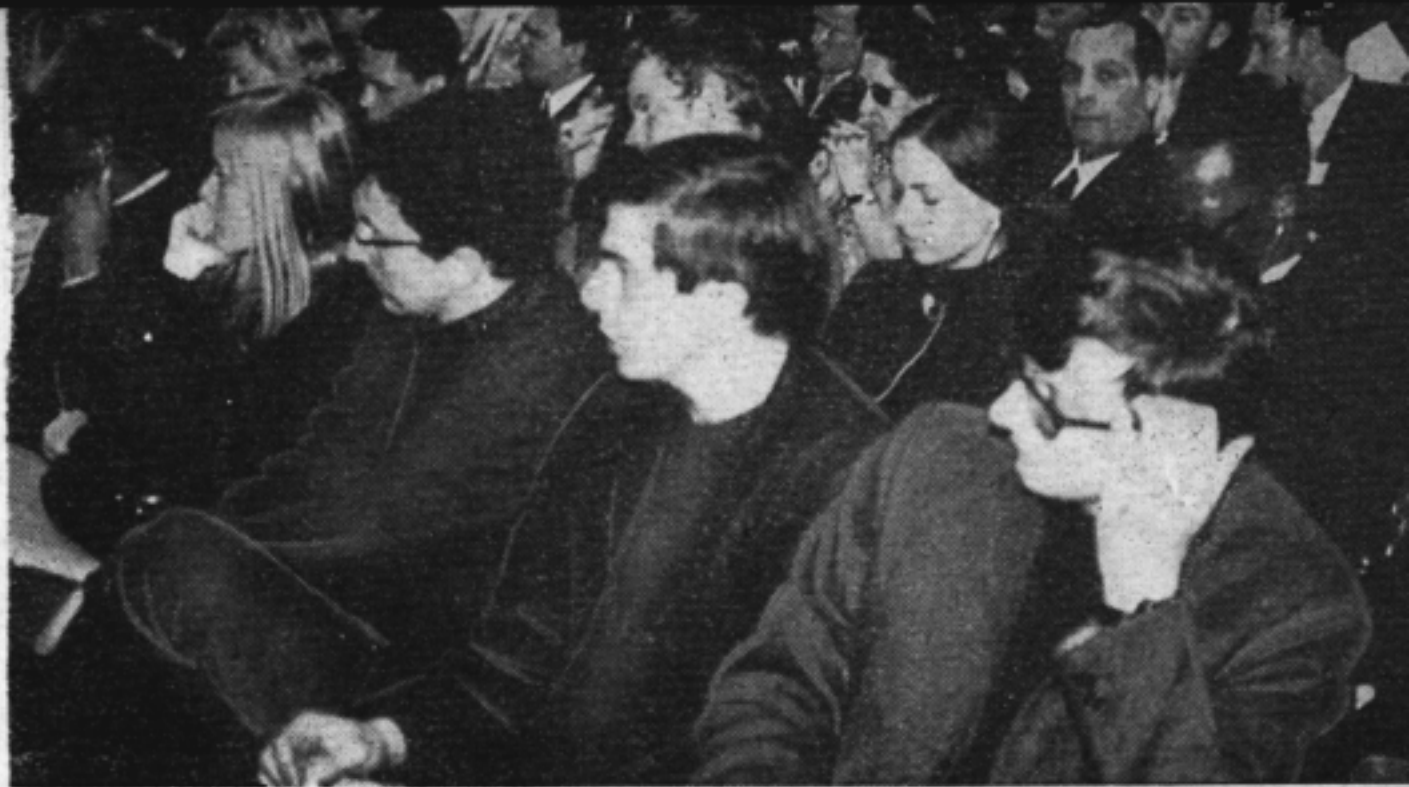
The regime is a colossus with clay feet. The people will find a way to challenge its power and, in fact, utilize the strength of South Africa against the racists and for its liberation."

The only way to break the impasse at the UN and elsewhere in the Western world, said Mr Marof, was to back the international campaign against apartheid with the power of world public opinion. "An intensified non-governmental campaign is essential," he stated. The Paris Conference was a part of this and the Western world may have tried to play it down, but its significance cannot be underestimated. As the vice-chairman of the UN Committee, the Ambassador from Costa Rica, said: "No conscience can be at ease as long as human rights and dignity are spurned as they are in South Africa."

WEST GERMAN MENACE

After the opening plenary session, the Conference divided into commissions. All expressed concern at the increasing involvement of France with the apparatus of oppression in South Africa. The political commission was perhaps even more alarmed at the increasing co-operation between West Germany and South Africa. As one delegate put it, the extent of West German-South African co-operation might not yet match that of Britain, but its character was far more menacing.

South Africa was consciously trying to minimise its traditional dependence on Britain, and was diversifying its trade for political rather than economic reasons. West Germany had been sending droves of experts to South Africa, especially rocket and space scientists. The fear was expressed that West German co-operation with South Africa in the



A section of the delegates who attended the Conference.

atomic sphere was designed to place within West Germany's grasp the atomic weapons which she was prevented from constructing on her own soil.

This was a prospect no Frenchman could contemplate with equanimity. The French had twice in this century experienced the horrors of world war and the injuries inflicted during the Nazi occupation still remained fresh in their memory. Many of those at the Conference were in the Resistance during the last war.

The link between France and the anti-apartheid struggle was also revealed in another context. Many of the French delegates had helped the Algerians in their independence struggle. One such was Henri Alleg, author of "The Question." Also present were many lawyers who had concentrated their practice during that period on the defence of Algerian freedom-fighters and political prisoners, including one young woman advocate who had been kidnapped for

a week by the OAS. These people realise very clearly how apartheid South Africa threatens not only its own people but the people of all Africa, the independence of the new African states, and the peace of the world.

CONFERENCE DEMANDS

The findings of the various commissions were presented to the final plenary session, which adopted a general resolution calling for support to be given to the African liberation movement, and for an intensification of anti-apartheid work in Europe.

Among the resolutions adopted were:

1. A call for the release of all South African political prisoners and the cessation of political trials.
2. A call for the commutation of all death sentences passed on political fighters in South Africa.
3. Protest against the action of the French Government in preventing a SWAPO delegate from Algiers from attending the Conference.
4. Call on all governments to take immediate and effective action to remove South West Africa from the domination of the South African government.

All who attended the Conference, far from being disappointed as the *Rand Daily Mail* would have its readers believe, were greatly encouraged and inspired by it. The Conference laid the foundation for a vast expansion of anti-apartheid work, not only in France but also in the rest of Europe. As the organisers stated: "Our people need information. Once they know what is happening, how apartheid affects them, they will react."

Mr Joe Matthews, Managing Editor of Sechaba, who represented the African National Congress, giving a press interview during a break in the Conference.



LIFE UNDER APARTHEID

SEVERE ASSAULT

A drunken African motorist had been severely assaulted in front of other people in the Vereeniging charge office — but no one could say, or was prepared to come forward to testify, who had inflicted “these very serious injuries.” This was said by Mr P.A.J. Burger in the Vereeniging Magistrates Court when he found Warrant Officer J. H. Fitzell guilty of the “technical offence” of assaulting Mr Abraham Letebele. The Magistrate said the fact that Mr Letebele’s injuries were very grave — far more serious than he could have sustained when Fitzell pushed him and he fell — had been confirmed by the District Surgeon. The Doctor had said that Mr Letebele was so badly injured and shocked that he had refused to examine him at the charge office and had ordered him to be taken to hospital.

PRISON TORTURE

The United Nations Commission on Human Rights adopted a resolution condemning South Africa’s penal policies at its last meeting in Geneva. The resolution said the Commission was

deeply disturbed by the evidence of continuing torture and ill-treatment of persons in South Africa detained by the police or imprisoned for opposition to, or infringement of, apartheid laws.

AFRICAN SHOT DEAD

An African shouting “bulala” (kill) and urging his companions on to kill the police who were fighting for their lives against a mob of infuriated Africans, was shot dead, evidence was led in the Heidelberg Magistrate’s Court.

The fighting, starting at the railway compound at Kraalstasie near Balfour, and erupting into a full-scale attack on Railway and South African Police, was described at an inquest into the death of Thetso Motaung, 40, a labourer.

40 DEATHS A DAY

Tuberculosis, South Africa’s deadliest scourge, is claiming 40 lives a day, according to Dr J. J. du Pree le Roux, chairman of the South African National Tuberculosis Association and a former Secretary for Health.

He said that last year 65,700 cases of TB were reported. “The tragedy of the disease could be seen in the fact that the bulk of the sufferers were rendered incapable of earning a living in their most productive years.”

“The vast majority were members of South Africa’s non-White community” he stated.

ENSLAVED NATION

The Bantu Investment Corporation had been created “to unleash the Afrikaners” onto the Transkei, said Freedom Party member Mr Cromwell Diko in

the Transkei Legislative Assembly. Speaking during the committee stage of the Appropriation Bill on the Chief Minister’s vote, Mr Diko said the BIC was the “Broederbond Investment Corporation — not the Bantu Investment Corporation.”

(Note: The Broederbond is the extreme right-wing secret society of the ruling Nationalist Party; the Transkei is the ‘Bantustan’ which has been given so-called, extremely limited, autonomy.)

“You talk of the BIC and the Xhosa Development Corporation — how are these uplifting the Africans?” he asked. “Who are the shareholders in the BIC? Is there one African shareholder?”

The BIC was not in the Transkei to cater for the African. Men who were supposed to be buying businesses through the BIC were “only managers”, he said. “The Africans will never be able to buy property. All that is happening is that you are bringing more and more Afrikaners from the Republic to come and take the place of the Englishmen in the Transkei.”

Mr Diko said the principle of “master and servant” still persisted in the Transkei. Economically, Africans have been made perpetual slaves in this country, he said.

RACE CLASSIFICATION (1)

Sandra Laing, the 11-year-old Piet Retief girl who has been classified as a Coloured although she has white parents, brothers and sisters, will automatically qualify to be re-classified as White before the end of the current session of Parliament. The Population Registration Amendment Bill provides that a person’s descent will in future become the pivotal factor in defining his or her race.

The provisions of the Bill are retrospective, which means that the Secretary of the Interior will be able to re-classify Sandra as White once it becomes law, as both her parents are officially classified as White.

RACE CLASSIFICATION (2)

A man whose relationship with a White woman resulted in the birth of a child was last month declared Coloured by Mr Acting Justice Tebbutt in the Supreme Court in Cape Town. The judge dismissed an appeal by the 27-year-old man against his classification. Mr Justice Watermeyer agreed.



SOUTH AFRICAN PRESS COMMENTS

A selection of editorial and other comments in the South African press.

Mr Acting Justice Tebbutt said: "It is undeniable that the applicant is very dark-complexioned, his hands in particular being extremely dark coloured. Although his hair is straight and his features are not those of an obviously Coloured person, his general appearance and dark colour would, in my opinion, render his being classified as a White person, on his appearance alone, as at least doubtful. The man's father had been classified White and he was engaged to a woman, the mother of his child, who has a White identity card."



CALLED A KAFFIR

The manager of a furniture shop apologised in court for insulting a Pretoria African businessman and member of the Mamelodi Advisory Board, by calling him a "kaffir" and ordering him out of the shop for using a chair which was for 'Whites Only'.

The apology was read in court by Mr Justice de Villiers at the hearing of an action in which Mr H.M. Pitje (the Mamelodi Advisory Board member) sued a furniture shop Bothner's (Pty) Ltd and its manager, Mr D. Dippenaar, claiming £2,500 for defamation and injuria.

Mr Pitje alleged that when he sat on the chair which he had used on a previous occasion, Mr Dippenaar rushed up to him and told him the chair was not for "kaffirs."

(Note: An 'Advisory Board' is a Government-sponsored body set up ostensibly to advise local authorities on the civic needs of the African people in their respective townships. The African National Congress boycotts this body. Its recommendations are seldom, if ever, accepted. — Editor)

The South African Prime Minister's statement on sport policy received extensive editorial comment in South Africa.

The keynote of the press treatment of Vorster's statement (that multi-racial foreign sports teams would be allowed to visit South Africa) was the interpretation to be placed on it as an indication of policy direction.

Nowhere was there any mention of the introduction of politics into sport, as was the case when the African National Congress and its allies opposed apartheid in sport and called for an international boycott of South Africa.

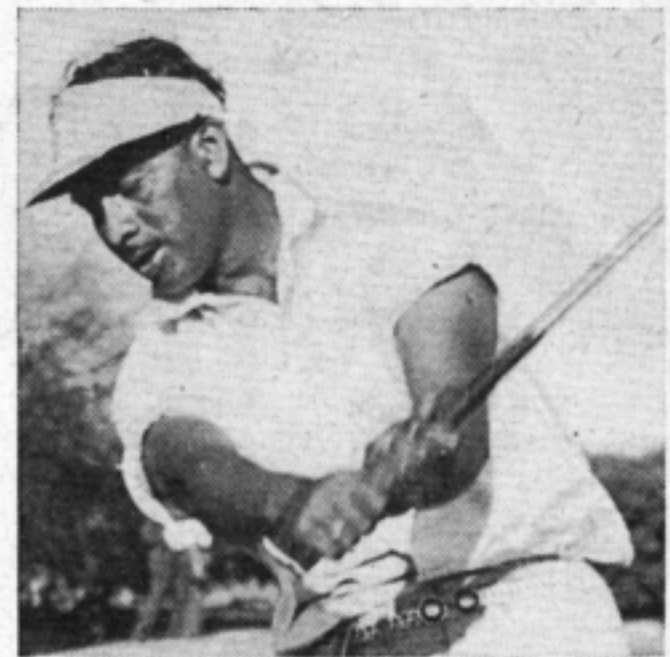
According to the political commentator of 'Die Vaderland', one of the National Party's daily papers, for instance, "there is serious concern in broad National Party circles at present, about the way in which certain newspapers . . . have interpreted and commented on the speech in Parliament of the Prime Minister."

In order to soothe the outrage (of its own making) among Nationalists, who felt that Apartheid had been dented even by this apparent minor concession, the above paper quoted statements by the Minister of Economic Affairs, Mr J.F.W. Haak, and the Minister of Bantu Administration, Mr M.C. Botha. Mr Botha said that no cardinal principles of the National Party had been violated. "We accept others as they are, we do not try to reform them, and expect therefore that others accept us as we are." He emphasised, however, that mixed sport would not be allowed inside South Africa.

SLIGHT CHANGE

Nationalist MPs denied in Parliament that the government had made any concessions on the sport apartheid issue when Mrs Helen Suzman, the lone Progressive Party MP, taxed Mr Vorster with having announced nothing more than "some slight change." She said: "The concessions, as I see it, are being made to White spectator-sportsmen in South Africa. It is hoped that by the slight change in policy . . . White spectator-sportsmen in South Africa will not be deprived of international matches." (Cape Times)

A large-scale welcome to the Prime Minister's statement by sports bodies throughout the civilised world and in the Republic, was noted by 'Die Volksblad' (12. 4. 67). There were clear signs of conciliatoriness and goodwill. "It means that South Africa's shares on the



South African golf star Papwa Sewgolum, who cannot take part in tournaments in his own country because of apartheid laws.

international scene have risen encouragingly. And the important aspect is that South Africa's government could achieve this without throwing overboard the principles of its policy, including the carrying-on of separate sport at home."

*

Another aspect which received wide attention in the S.A. press was the decision of the government to reduce the African population in the cities and in the whole of the Western Cape by 5% each year until all the cities and the Western Cape were denuded of all Africans.

Any businessman who believed that the government was not serious in carrying out its policy of stopping the flow of African labour into the metropolitan areas was living in a fool's paradise, reiterated the Deputy Minister of Bantu Development, Mr Blaar Coetzee. (Rand Daily Mail, 3. 4. 67) The stage had probably been reached where the provision of housing for Bantu in White areas would have to be restricted. (Sondagstem, 3. 4. 67)

UNJUST TO EMPLOYERS

The government's plan to diminish African workers in the Western Province by 5% a year was unjust to all employers in the area, said Mr Marais Steyn, MP, at a United Party election meeting at Worcester. "Providence has put the various races together in one country. We must make it work . . . If you remove the Blacks, the White people alone cannot do the work and we must

go backwards." (*Cape Argus*, 30. 3. 67)
No word was said about how unjust
this plan is to the Africans.

WHITENING CITIES

A significant trek of Bantu was taking place into the cities, which probably would become greater if allowed to proceed, wrote Prof. C. van H. du Plessis in *'Vista'* (24. 3. 67). During 1947 to 1966, the White population had increased by 58% but the non-Whites by 113%. Prof. du Plessis said it was of the highest importance for the country that the Bantu homelands — in danger of becoming economic deserts — should share fully in the developments of the country. "These territories have a much more important task than merely to supply labour and to produce a small quantity of agricultural produce."

PRACTICABILITY OF PLAN

A Jo'burg City Council report said that the government plan to reduce the number of Africans in the urban areas of Johannesburg would have a detrimental effect on the economy. More Africans were needed. (*The Star*, 29. 3. 67) Discussing this in his column in *'Dagbreek'*, Dirk Richard asked whether existing African labour was being used as effectively as possible in the cities and whether more use could not be made of non-white women "even if it means fewer servants for White houses."

'Die Transvaler' (3. 4. 67) attacked the Jo'burg City Council for flouting Government policy. "The Johannesburg City Council has always been inspired with the ideal of forming an empire within an empire. With the report on the increase of the Bantu population a new peak point has been reached in this aspiration . . . The time has come for the wings of the Johannesburg City Council to be clipped very short."

WHO WILL PAY?

An influx (of Africans) on the scale foreseen would cost hundreds of millions of rands, said *'Die Vaderland'* (30. 3. 67). The City Council should have made an estimate of the costs of building a steadily growing Black Johannesburg . . . "And who will pay it? Here is a typical case of the mentality which only stares at the much-vaunted 'economic growth rate' and then makes demands equal to it, without the slightest consideration of the consequences it will bring in numerous other spheres."

CONGRESS ACTIVIST RECEIVES PEACE MEDAL



Among those honoured this year by the German Democratic Republic's Peace Council was a South African, Arnold Selby, who received the 'Peace Medal' for his work as a political commentator and editor on Radio Berlin International. It is a fitting tribute to a man who long ago rejected the privileges of a white skin in South Africa to fight for freedom.

A working-class man, Arnold, after his experience of the war, identified himself fully with the struggle of the people. He became General Secretary of the African Textile Workers' Union in 1951 — and was jailed many times as

a result of his work. Forced to leave for Ghana in 1960, eye trouble took him to Europe for treatment, and he and his family settled in the GDR.

There, offered the important task of working in the Africa Dept. of RBI, Arnold took up the challenge with a will; that he proved his ability in this new field can be seen from his being awarded the Peace Medal.

Arnold Selby received the Medal with typical Congress spirit. "I do not consider this as a personal award to myself," he stated, "but rather as an award to the glorious liberation struggle of South Africa."

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

"We thank all those who have written to us (far too numerous to mention individually) for their expressions of support and sympathy with our struggle against the fascist regime in South Africa. — Editor

Sir,

I have been glad to receive and read several issues of your monthly. I would like to congratulate you on your work, and to wish you every possible success. Having said which, I will make a protest about the indiscriminate attacks you make on Britain in your issue No. 2 of February. I am no supporter of the present British Government nor its post-war predecessors. Indeed all my life, and I am well into my seventies, I have been an active Liberal and have taken part in every General Election since 1910.

I cannot, however, accept your judgment of Britain and I think you will do

your cause no good by irresponsible and, I believe, unjust attacks on British integrity. Mistakes have been made but I think you are adding nothing to your case by accusing those with whom you disagree or perjury and bad faith. Britain is in deep difficulty but her record especially since 1946 has, in the main, been not lacking in goodwill towards Africans and others in the Eastern Hemisphere.

W. H. Hyett

La Reyneme
St Pierre de Cole
Dordogne, France.

S.A. NAZIS CELEBRATE

An eye-witness account of South Africans celebrating Hitler's birthday, which ended in a clash between Jewish youth and the fascists; and a reply to Prime Minister Vorster who attempted to white-wash the incident and threatened action against the journalists who published the story.

by Tony Hillhouse, a South African journalist.



I witnessed the celebration of Hitler's birthday in a beer-hall in Hillbrow, Johannesburg, last month. Doubt has been cast by the Prime Minister, Mr Vorster, on the truth of that account. Because of this, I have decided to give the facts again as I saw them. I was there. This is my story:

On Thursday evening, 20 April, I was in Hillbrow when I heard the noise of singing and shouting from the beerhall. I was about two blocks away and went to investigate. On approaching the beerhall in Kotze Street, I found a crowd of people congregated on the pavement outside the entrance. As I was about to enter the door over the steep steps leading down to the beerhall, which is in the cellar of an hotel, a woman standing in the crowd warned me: "Don't go in there, they've gone mad." When I asked her what was going on, she replied: "They're celebrating Hitler's birthday."

Pushing through the thronging crowds on the steps. I entered the smoky atmosphere of the hall. It was packed with tankard-swinging youths who were singing and chanting. The noise was deafening. In the hall I saw for the first time a picture of Hitler standing against the mirrors backing the bar. Scrawled across the picture, which was a good sketch of Hitler, were the words 'Happy Birthday'.

The hall was packed with about 500 people. Among these were a few women. On the tables, which adjoin the bar, stood groups of youths singing. The average age of the crowd was between 20 and 26. Tankards swinging, they were boisterously singing German war marches, which were interrupted every now and then by shouts of 'Heil Hitler', accompanied by the traditional raised-arm salute. The songs would die down and then someone in the crowd would start the 'Sieg Heil' chants. The crowd joined in.

At one stage a youth jumped on to one of the crowded tables. He wore a long overcoat and his hair was brushed down

over his forehead. He took out a comb and held it to his upper lip. The whole room then reverberated to 'Heil Hitler'. There was no laughter at this stage, which one might have expected had it all been 'in fun'.

There was no doubt in my mind that he was impersonating Hitler and there was no doubt that the crowd was typical of one celebrating a normal birthday. The crowd was not unruly and I did not see any incidents of violence.

After the bar closed, the men went upstairs and the celebration continued there. All the women who had been present earlier had already left.

The next day, Friday, a 'Sunday Express' reporter was given the facts of the incident. The subsequent story which appeared in the 'Sunday Express' was an accurate noting of what I had told the reporter.

REPLY TO VORSTER

To answer the Prime Minister's attack on this report, I state emphatically: I was in the beerhall for two hours. The beerhall was packed.

The majority of those present — not "some" as the Prime Minister stated — took part in the incident, and there were not a "few" shouts of 'Heil Hitler', as the Prime Minister claimed, but many. Two-thirds of the people present took up the chant 'Sieg Heil'.

The Prime Minister states that the references to Hitler were isolated and made in a mocking manner. This does not conform with what I saw. My impression, as I have already stated, was that the celebration was seriously intended.

Even if it had been carried out in a mocking manner — and I do not accept that it was — it would have been offensive to other people, particularly if they were Jewish.

Mr Vorster says that the report of a boisterous party of 500 people is untrue.

I stand by what I wrote. My estimate was that 500 were packed into the beerhall. Except for an isolated few who managed to be seated, the rest were so packed together that they had to stand. All drank beer — and the party was certainly boisterous. Mr Vorster has threatened that the journalists involved in these reports — and I presumably fall into the category because the 'Sunday Express' report was based on an interview with me — will not be allowed to hide behind journalistic privilege.

I have written this article in my own name — and I am prepared to swear to the truth and accuracy of it should the police wish me to do so.

COMMENT

by the Editor of Sechaba

The emergence of open Nazi manifestations in South Africa is the direct result of the government's policy of apartheid and the denial of human rights to the vast majority of the South African population.

South Africa has followed the course of fascism in its treatment of its population for so long that it should surprise no one that celebrations such as the one on Hitler's birthday are held.

The ANC has repeatedly warned white South Africans that once Afrikaaner Nationalism of the type preached and practised by the Nationalist Party government catches root, no non-Afrikaner will be safe from the venom of racialism and national intolerance. The Jewish community in particular were warned on numerous occasions that once the African and other non-white liberation organizations were suppressed, their turn would follow.

The present manifestations are but the beginning and must be stopped — by force if necessary, by united action on the part of all those who value democracy.

PORTRAIT

LALOO CHIBA - MAN OF COURAGE

The 21st of March, 1960. A day that will always be remembered by the African people. The day of the Sharpeville massacre — an event which was to shock the whole world. That day was to have a profound influence on a young Indian, Laloo Chiba. Until Sharpeville, Chiba had not been active in politics. He was a Congress sympathiser but his time was primarily devoted to fulfilling family responsibilities. Although he was a highly intelligent student, his education, like that of so many non-whites in South Africa, had been cut off early. Working in a Fordsburg dairy, he had risen to be foreman. In addition he sold insurance in the evening. For he was not only supporting a wife, three children and his ageing father. He was responsible — again like many others — for the education of other members of his family: in his case, two brothers, who have since qualified as a doctor and a scientist.

MEANING OF SHARPEVILLE

Sharpeville made a profound change in Chiba's attitude to life. It made him realise that concern for family was not enough. It made him aware of further, even deeper responsibilities — to his country and its cruelly oppressed people. He became, almost overnight, a dedicated political activist. At this time, leaders of the Congress Movement were being hunted down and arrested under the 'Emergency'. So Chiba, a new recruit, had a great opportunity to prove himself — and he emerged as an outstanding political worker with great qualities of leadership. It was in 1963 that a group of young Indians were arrested, through an informer, while engaged in sabotaging a railway line. On that same night, the Special Branch came to detain Chiba at his home. Wishing to warn a colleague, he scaled a high wall at the back of his house — and in doing so broke his thumb. He was pursued and captured by the police.

TORTURE

Chiba was brutally tortured by the Special Branch. In fact he is still deaf in one ear from the blows he received then. Another prisoner has described how Chiba was brought back to his cell on a stretcher after interrogation. He was unable to walk for several days because, in addition to having been kicked and punched, he had been beaten on the soles of his feet with batons. The Special Branch could not succeed in getting the information they wanted from him, and found themselves unable to lay charges against him at that stage. He was released — only to be re-detained in 1964 and subjected to further remorseless interrogation. Even hardened interrogators such as Major Brits found themselves unable to break his resistance. In October 1964, together with Wilton Mqwayi, Dave

Kitson, John Matthews and 'Mac' Maharaj, he was charged with being on the High Command of Umkonto we Sizwe ('Spear of the Nation'): proof of how far Chiba had come in his comparatively brief political life.

'UNREPENTANT'

Throughout the trial, Chiba and his co-accused showed strong moral force — and pride in their actions in the liberation movement. Indeed, the judge in his summing-up commented adversely on the fact that they were 'unrepentant'. In court, Chiba said: "I gave my wholehearted support to the policy of controlled sabotage. I could not and still cannot see any alternative action."

'AMANDLA'

On 19 December, they were sentenced to terms varying from 12 years (Maharaj) to Life (Mqwayi). Chiba himself was sentenced to 18 years' imprisonment. When sentence was pronounced, they reacted with shouts of "Amandla Ngawethu" and "Mayibuye," and gave the clenched fist salute to spectators in the gallery. Afterwards, outside the cell entrance, a defiant crowd sang 'Nkosi Sikelele Afrika'. The prisoners, emerging to be herded into the vans, again called out slogans and saluted. It was a deeply moving occasion which demonstrated the courage and calibre of the accused. They are showing the same qualities in prison today. Chiba is on Robben Island — doing well at academic studies despite gruelling labour in the quarries all day. He has been on hunger strike for improved conditions. He was charged with insubordination — but not convicted.

SENSE OF BROTHERHOOD

Chiba has many friends among both the African and Indian communities. They speak of his dashing good looks, his gaiety, his lively sense of humour — and of his loyalty and superb courage. Chiba's wife was a young woman from India who knew little of South African politics. However, when he was detained, she organized protests and demonstrations so effectively that the police took her in for questioning. When the savage sentence on her husband was pronounced, she took it with calmness and dignity and she faces the years of separation with courage. Laloo Chiba demonstrates the role which South African Indians have played — and are still playing — in our struggle. The sense of brotherhood which was first fully brought home to Chiba by Sharpeville has been shown by his actions to be no shallow sympathy but a profound identification with the African people. *Amandla!*

AFRICAN LEADERS

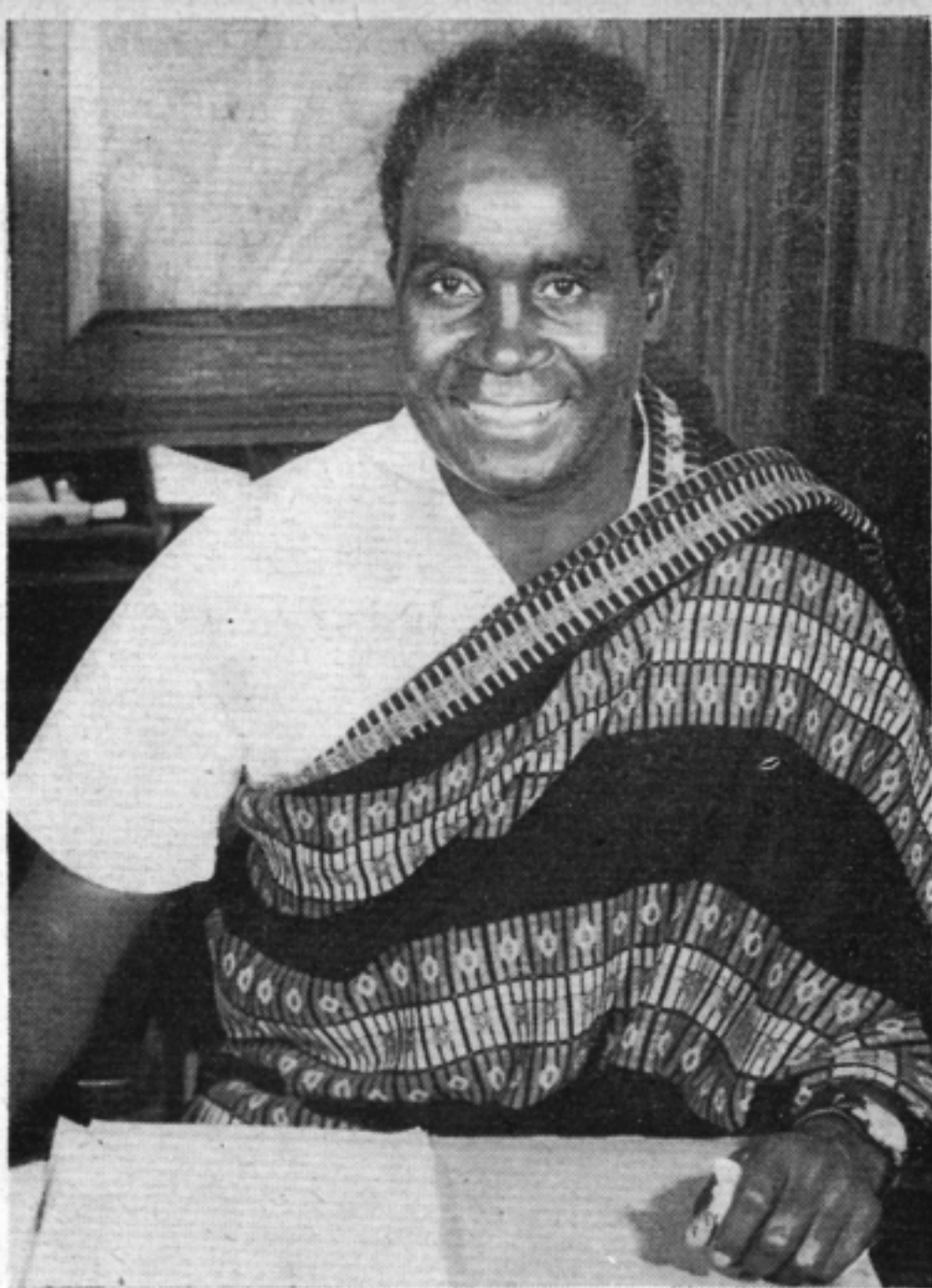
DR KAUNDA OF ZAMBIA

Dr Kenneth David Kaunda, first President of the Republic of Zambia, was educated at Lubwe Mission School and at Munali Secondary School in Lusaka. Dr Kaunda returned to Lubwe as a teacher but gave up his profession to enter politics.

In 1949 he was elected Secretary of the African National Congress then the only African political party in the country. He became Secretary-General of the party in 1953, and moved to Lusaka. In October 1958 Dr Kaunda formed the Zambia African National Congress, and was appointed its President.

When the party was declared illegal in 1959, he was ordered to be restricted to Kabompo in the North-Western Province. On his release the following year he took over the leadership of the newly-formed United National Independence Party from Mr Mainza Chona.

At the General Election in October 1962 Dr Kaunda was returned to the Legislative Council as the Member for Luapula, and became Minister of Local Government and Social Welfare in the Coalition Government formed by UNIP and ANC. He was already an internationally known figure for in February 1962 he had been elected Chairman of the Pan-Af-



rican Freedom Movement for East, Central and South Africa. When elections were held in January 1964, UNIP gained an overwhelming majority and Dr Kaunda was sworn in as the first Prime Minister of Northern Rhodesia. On 24 August, the Legislative Assembly elected him Unopposed as the first President Designate of Zambia.

MESSAGE

from

E. F. Makuka Nkoloso,
Personal Representative of His
Excellency Kenneth Kaunda:

"The African Liberation Centre salutes **'Sechaba'** with pride.

"**Sechaba** is very inspirational and a unifying organ in the struggle for freedom and self-determination.

"We leaders in the struggle for liberation of the millions of people in Southern Africa applaud **Sechaba**.

Let **Sechaba** live long!"



Mr Nkoloso receives a copy of Sechaba

LITERATURE AND RESISTANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

PART TWO

Paper submitted by the South African delegation to the Afro-Asian Writers' Conference, Beirut

Sometimes through the use of myths and legends the oppressor is identified with detestable characters. There is for example the work-poem found in every labouring group in S. Africa:

The white men are scoundrels
They call us Jim boys
They the dirty swine.

They arrest us everywhere
They reap the harvest of manacled men
They arrest us everywhere.

The full dramatic meaning of these two short poems can only be conveyed in the dramatic context of the sound of picks and shovels.

The satirical form, too, has assumed new meanings relevant to the situation in South Africa. Thus the school children may be heard reciting about the tyrannical rule of the Boers.

But before we go into details of the modern period, let us look into the relationship between literature and the latter period of the conquest. It was not until the late 19th century that the resistance of the African people was broken. Even after that there continued isolated but significant pockets of resistance, like the Bambatha rebellion in 1906 in which 10,000 Africans died fighting bravely against the coloniser. These were glorified in the poetry of resistance, in which poets sang:

On the Sandlwane Battle

Son of Ndaba, you beat them (the whites)
Bending down on your knee
But alas I warn you Europeans have inhuman souls
Wait until they cross the Tukela river.

On the Division of the Land

The white vermin, my Lord,
Invades the lands of our forefathers
They, the adolescents who defecate
In the house like infants.

★

The white man carves the land
With blood-drenched knives
From north to south the sun bleeds . . .

INTERPRETING AFRICA

The unification of the white front in 1910 resulted in the creation of a unified oppressive machinery. The literature of this period is significant for its pathos and a sense of de-

spair mixed with a nostalgia for the days of old. The temporary defeat of the African people stimulated a philosophy of deprivation. But this was only more apparent than real. A new intellectual elite was emerging whose belief was that the white man could be beaten on his own ground by the combined forces of all the African people.

Thus we find one of the most outstanding political documents, given by Dr Seme in 1908, stressing the absolute necessity of the unity of the African people against the oppressor. The unity was not only of the local kind but encompassing the whole continent of Africa. The significance of the document, or rather the political views contained therein, lies not only in the dimensions of political interpretation of resistance, but also because such views became part of the literary mood of the period.

This was reflected in the numerous volumes of literature — translations, historical and political treatises — defining the African intellectual resistance movement. That these corporate works sought to interpret African political and historical thought is seen from the very titles: "The Origin of the African Peoples" by Soga, "Shaka's Page Boy" by Dube, "African Political Organizations" by Dladla, and so on.

NO LAND — NO PRESSES

To define this movement exactly, one must study the political and social factors operating at the time. The formation of the Union of South Africa signified, as stated, the unification of the oppressive forces. The immediate task of these forces was to drive the African people from the land so that they became a landless mobile labour-pool available for the newly established industries. To ensure the total and universal implementation of this programme, a tax was imposed so that every able-bodied man would be forced to seek employment in the white man's cities.

The 1913 Land Act not only deprived the African of the right of ownership of land but, under the Urban Areas Act, the Africans were prohibited from owning any interest in land except with the express authority of the Governor-General. The immediate result was the restriction of the African population, which outnumbered the whites four to one, to only 12½% of the land area of South Africa. The position remains unchanged except for one-half percent added later as a 'compensation' for the loss of voting rights.

In spite of all this it took some time before the law took effect. What is then the significance of this Act to literature? Hitherto the African intelligensia and others had been able to pawn their lands and buy printing presses and locate them on their land. Thus J.L. Dube, one of the early leaders

(continued on page 16)

Throughout the year trickles of weary men pass through personnel offices all over Johannesburg. They are the better educated Africans, eager and in most cases able to play a significant part in the country's industrial development — but avoided because they are too good for manual labour and too Black for conventional white-collar posts . . .

THE FORGOTTEN MEN OF TODAY

Re-print of an article published in the 'STAR' of Johannesburg.

From every one the same tale of frustration is heard with slight variations. "I have trained, I have studied, I have worked hard, but no one is prepared to use my talents. Do you, perhaps, have something I can do, anything, for I must feed my family?"

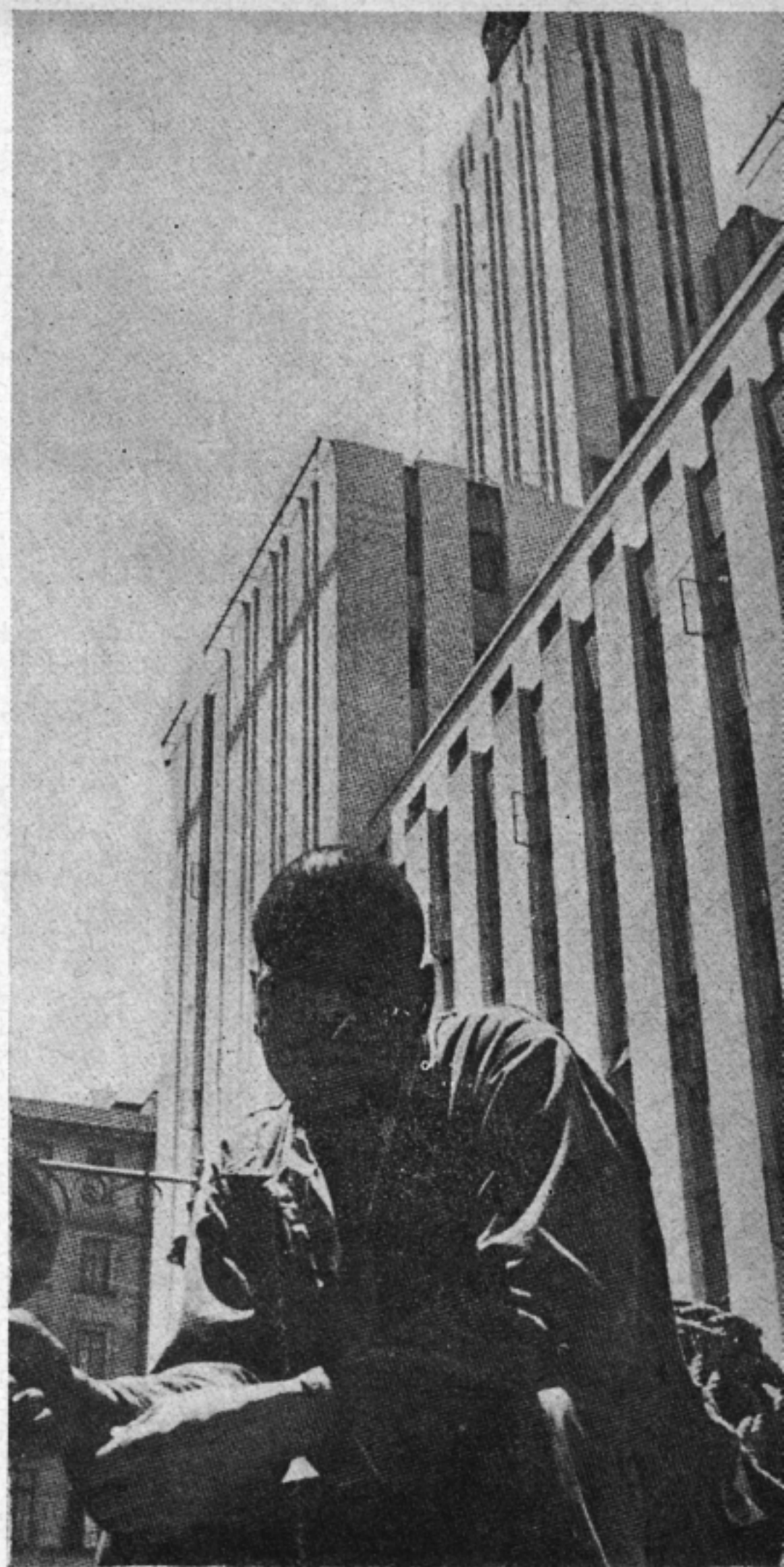
Some have become cynical, some are just too tired to care; most take any job offered them, nearly all are disillusioned. On the face of it, the fact that this particular problem exists at all is absurd. The country cries out for skilled and educated manpower. Married (white) women are urged, though not fiscally encouraged, to work, and skilled immigrants are greeted with open arms, though racial bickering occasionally mars their welcome.

COLOUR BAR

Why then this rejection? Apart from the statutory colour bar, job reservation and the 'homelands' policy, there is the *unseen* colour bar: the peculiar and complex pressures exerted on executives who would like to utilize this important source of manpower.

Existing institutions are not orientated to high-grade African personnel. Pension funds or medical aid schemes do not automatically cross the colour bar. Europeans cannot be put under the supervision of Africans. Social stresses within the organization are feared, not to mention outside pressures which may result if responsibly placed Africans are called upon to deal with the public. Communication, in spite of education, still remains a problem.

The risk of placing an intelligent and well-educated African in a job commensurate with his abilities is one that few executives responsible to their boards and shareholders, are prepared to take.



THE HARD GRIND

What, therefore, becomes of this educated African elite? What can they do? Some set up small businesses in the townships and do very well, a fact which is borne out by the *relative* opulence of Dube.

Those who seek a more secure though less enterprising living can be found dotted about European (White) business as clerks tucked away in back rooms, controlling African credit sections, looking after warehouses or stock. Some might earn £7½ a week; the more fortunate might earn £50 a month. A man in his forties with five children, a first-class matriculation in 1944, three years service with the British Army in Egypt, rising to the rank of warrant officer, and with a great

deal of clerical experience since, recently commanded the staggering salary of £65 a month.

In a decade when four people who strum guitars, thump drums and make vocal noises can command a fee running into four or five figures for an hour or two, nothing surprises us. But it is a chastening experience to see a cultivated, intelligent, middle-aged man with family responsibilities earning less than girls in their teens who have abandoned their education at Standard 8 to sit behind accounting machines. One might have supposed that the less neurotic commercial sphere might have arranged its values more equitably than the world of "pop."

CRUSHING LIMITATIONS

What do the 'homelands' offer these, their people?

"Since the Bantu have been given a sense of direction and a goal of self-determination and self-service in their homelands, there is nothing that bars them from pursuing any career of their own choice. The only limitation is that their homelands are still largely under-developed." So runs a publication issued by the Department of Information.

The "only limitation" is a crushing one. It is difficult to explain to the Johannesburg-orientated African that he is ten years too early, that he should go back to a homeland he may never have seen, and offer his services in a non-existent industry.

Certainly there is a great deal for him to do in the homelands. Doctors, teachers, scientists, agriculturalists, civil service administrators are in short supply.

But to tell the African with clerical training that he may follow the career of his own choice in any homeland is a gross overstatement. He has grown up here in an industrial environment and if as a result he has educated himself accordingly, the homelands have at present little to offer him.

These are the forgotten men of today.

Advertisement

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*The journal of the Anti-Apartheid Movement.
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This 8-page illustrated paper, appearing ten times a year, reports on apartheid in South Africa and on the campaigns waged against it both inside and outside the country. International reaction to apartheid at the UN, and political and social developments in countries neighbouring South Africa, are carefully watched by anti-apartheid news correspondents.

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Minimum subscription: 10/— per year. If outside Britain please include the cost of postage. *Anti-Apartheid Movement, 89 Charlotte Street, London W. 1.*



SECHABA is the official organ of the African National Congress, the vanguard organization in the national liberation struggle in South Africa. It will be published monthly and will contain reports on apartheid in South Africa and views and facts of conditions under apartheid.

This journal fulfils the need for the world at large to fully appreciate the struggle being waged by the oppressed people of South Africa against fascist apartheid tyranny, and will reflect the policy of the African National Congress, which seeks to establish a non-racial democracy in South Africa.

As the cost of producing this journal far exceeds the amount that will be received through sales, we appeal to all democrats to contribute towards the publishing costs.

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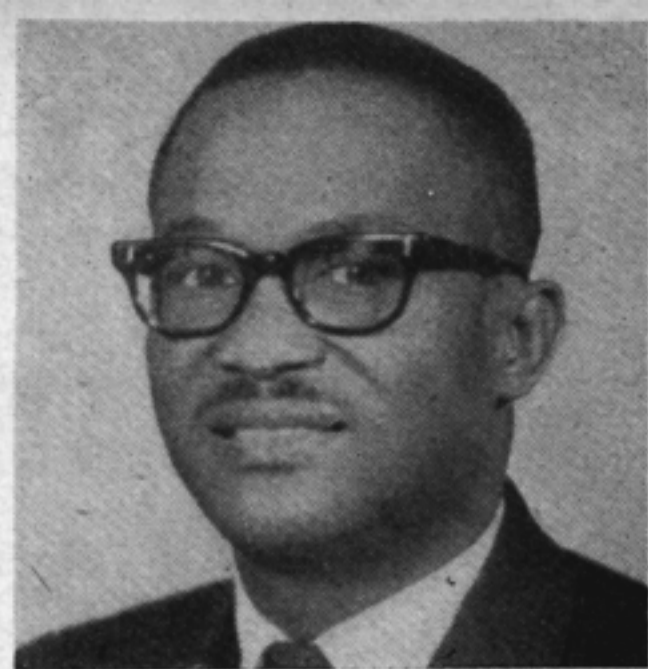
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WE SHALL FIGHT WITH OR WITHOUT GUNS

SWAPO leader Jacob Kuhangua speaks to Alfred Kgekong, Director of Publicity of the African National Congress of South Africa.



"Let my voice be heard, I denounce the cynical and provocative statement of the South African government to grant pseudo-independence to Ovamboland," said Jacob Kuhangua, Secretary-General of the South West African Peoples Organization (SWAPO), in an exclusive interview with Mr Alfred Kgekong, Director of Publicity of the African National Congress of South Africa.

Mr Kuhangua was commenting on the government's plan to create a 'Bantustan' in Ovamboland in South West Africa as a sop to growing world public opinion against the continued occupation of South West Africa by the South African Government.

"It is the aim of SWAPO" said Mr Kuhangua, "to represent all the people of South West Africa irrespective of race, colour, religion or national origin. It is our burning desire to eliminate completely from our country disease, illiteracy, racial inequality and other forms of subjection. Respect for human dignity and justice is our great concern. We intend to create in S.W.A. great prosperity and to lay the foundation of political democracy in conformity with our traditional laws and ideals."

Continuing, Mr Kuhangua said: "In its tenacious and bitter struggle our party believes that in the final analysis it will win and it will abolish social inequalities. We shall introduce reforms to give security for all citizens of Namibia (South West Africa). SWAPO stands for all who are interested in building a society founded on the principle of co-operation and community development. It seeks to reach mutual understanding and plans for the common good of all Namibians. Our aim is to build a strong society based on the common weal and for the benefit of all irrespective of colour."

ARMOUR OF COURAGE

Having voiced these fundamental views on a new Namibia, I asked Jacob to tell me more about Ovamboland. He described the grinding poverty that stalks the land and the inadequate health facilities to check disease. When it came to educational amenities, his voice rose with emotion. "Our children are regarded as hewers of wood and drawers of water and the White farmer can hardly wait to allow the little ones to grow up before they are sent into the fields."

Jacob condemned the Ovamboland Bantustan proposal and said "The aim is to divide S.W.A. into small tribal ghettos in order to rule it easily. But the people of S.W.A. are not alone in their struggle. SWAPO will fight," he declared, "from the Orange River to Oshikango and from Walvis Bay

to the Caprivi Strip. All Namibians preserve their dignity and have the determination to defend it. They have struggled against German imperial domination; and they wear the armour of courage."

IMPERIALIST PLUNDER

Brother Jacob then went on to attack the Western powers for bolstering up the White racist dictatorships in Southern Africa. "The racist Administration in S.W.A. and its crimes are the result not only of South Africa but also of its western imperialist allies. They plunder the territory of S.W.A. in the guise of a so-called battle against the spreading of 'communism'. But the annual profits of foreign monopolies in our country range from 20% to 45% per year. Ever-increasing support is given to Rhodesia and the Portuguese-dominated territories and South Africa by the NATO powers. The consolidation of the most reactionary powers has taken place in the form of the Unholy Alliance of the Smith, Salazar and Vorster regimes."

USE OF FORCE

Afro-Asian countries at the UN have demanded the use of force to expel South Africa from South West. What is your reaction to it? I asked.

Brother Jacob riffled a sheaf of well-kept notes and handed me a copy of his telegram to U Thant, which reads in part as follows: "The United Nations must proceed to South West Africa without further delay. Force must be used to repatriate all South African personnel, the army and paratroopers from our country."

In reply to my question as to whether there are any military bases in South West Africa and whether he thought South Africa would use them against a UN expeditionary force sent to expel her, Brother Kuhangua replied: "On 8 November 1966 the Minister of Water Affairs, Agricultural and Technical Services (Mr J.J. Fouche, a former Minister of Defence) said to a Nationalist Party meeting in Windhoek: 'South Africa would stand with S.W.A. to the utmost of its ability and would not give the area to the UN. The economy of South Africa is so strong that it could withstand trade sanctions for years'. Internally, preparations had been made and the necessary goods stockpiled so that in case of sanctions the country's factories could continue working. On the military front, South Africa had prepared itself."

Brother Jacob illustrated the point further by referring to the

manner in which the US and UK governments intervened in 1964 to stop the late Dr Verwoerd from declaring a Bantustan in Ovamboland. "I recall one classic example which was reported in the East African Standard on 30 April 1964 when the UK and US governments prevented Dr Verwoerd from implementing the Odendaal Commission Report in South West Africa. They argued that such implementation would cause Ethiopia and Liberia, who had put the case of S.W.A. mandate before the International Court at the Hague, to apply for an injunction of the Court, and that would make it impossible for the UK and US to intervene. Dr Verwoerd made a public statement that he had withdrawn implementation of the Odendaal Commission Report. I feel strongly that the two governments (UK and US) if they so wish to, can make it possible for S.W.A. to attain independence without a bullet being fired."

WE SHALL FIGHT

What will you do if these governments do not take action? I asked.

He braced himself, sat up in bed (Brother Kuhangua is at present an invalid), chuckled a little in his pleasant confident manner, and replied: "We, the freedom-fighters of S.W.A., have made it clear unequivocally that no matter what the price, we shall fight with or without guns until complete independence is won. Our militants have already taken guns and are fighting in South West Africa."



I asked, Can you give us any information on SWAPO leaders arrested under the 'Suppression of Communism' Act?

"Yes, these arrests show that S.W.A. is now openly treated as part of South Africa, and all the terrible tortures perpetrated against our brothers in South African jails are also meted out to S.W.A. political prisoners."

What is your reaction to the proposal to send a UN team to carry on further investigations etc. in S.W.A.?

"My President, Mr Sam Nujoma, has already flatly rejected the American proposal to that effect. But I object to certain countries going to S.W.A. because of their attitude in the case of our country. I am willing for a country like Tanzania, Burma or Cuba to go to S.W.A. to examine the situation and then report back to the UN. But before the mission goes to S.W.A. both the UN and the US should have all the freedom-fighters taken back into S.W.A. who are abroad; release all S.W.A. political detainees in South African jails and allow them freedom of speech; then the UN Commission's itinerary should be arranged by the freedom-fighters of SWA and not by the South African Government."

of African intellectual resisters and first President of the African National Congress was able to establish 'Ilanga Lase Natal Press'. Through this press he published a newspaper which was one of the mouthpieces of the intellectual resistance movement.

EARLY AFRICAN PRESS

In the Cape a more united and more vocal group of intellectuals established an African press through which 'Imvo Zabantu' and other works were published. Both 'Ilanga Lase Natal' and 'Imvo Zabantu' became not only the organs of debate about methods of resistance, but also involved in these debates the mass of the African people. They at once mobilised African opinion and exposed the most brutal forms of oppression perpetuated by the regime.

It was not only through this that political resistance of the African people was kept alive but also through literature produced from African-owned printing presses. It is to the credit of these intellectuals that they not only saw their destinies invariably tied up with those of their own people — despite endless attempts by the regime and missionaries to isolate them — but they also effected their beliefs by publishing in African languages. This meant that all literary productions were available to the general African populace.

The immediate effect then of the Land Act was that it deprived the Africans of the control of publication and left them at the mercy of the mission-owned presses.

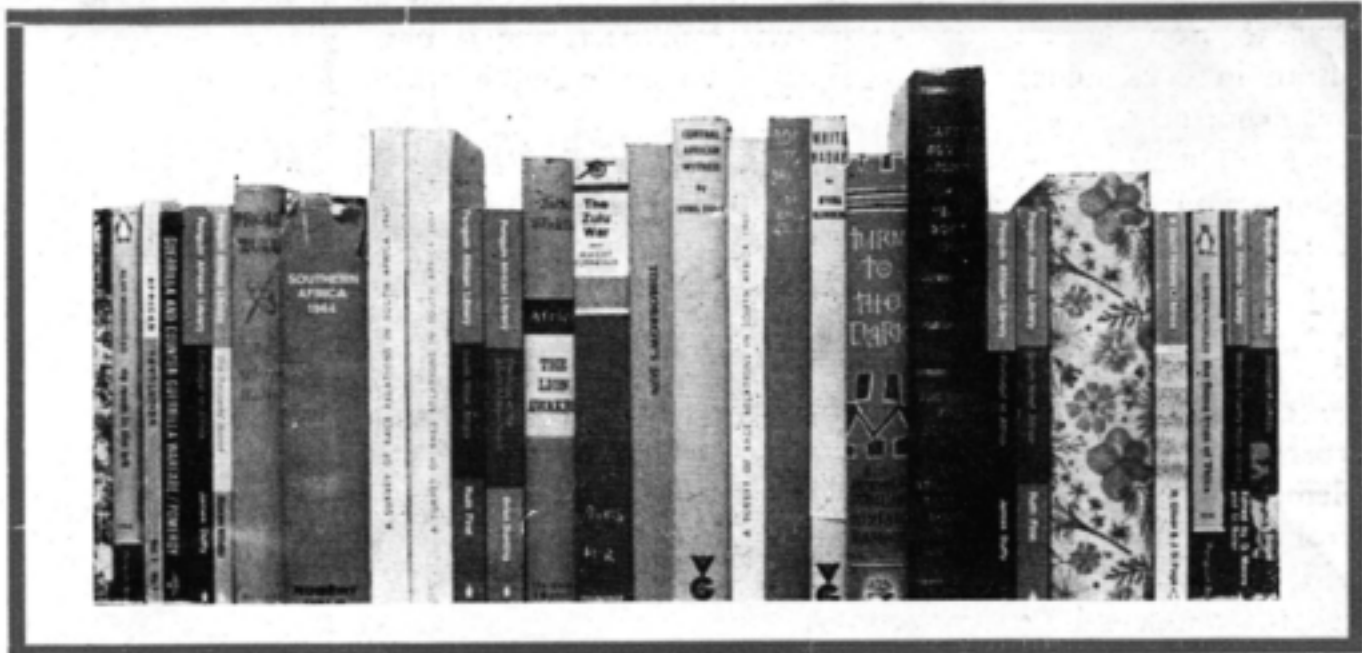
It also deprived the small land-owning group of the capacity to produce literature without too much dependence on the meagre earnings from white men's industries and schools. The result was a decline not only in literary output, which had been impressive, but also a decline in content. The novelettes produced failed to deal with social and political drama and remained soulless material which neither challenged the regime nor depicted the African situation. Instead the literature became no more than sentimental reportage of love situations between frozen and fleshless characters.

We can call this 'situational literature' since it dealt with situations without drawing any conclusions about their significance. Never in the whole period of our history has there been so much puerile, banal and purposeless literature. The writers, if we can call them such, pandered to the school market and purged their works of any slightly 'oppressive' (by missionary and government standards) paragraphs, words or sentences.

Such novelettes as "Nomsa" and such didactic literary omelettes as "Umendo kadukotela" vulgarised the very soul of the African people. No student read after completing his term of study: saturated with the infantility of these works, no student found anything to interest him in literature. Thus was born a whole generation of philistines whose only recourse was to the chapters and quotations of books long out of print.

GIMMICKS AND CHUNKS

They suffered also because the very intellectual isolation created a vacuum that was neither filled by European literature (which they had not been trained to understand) nor by tra-



ditional African literature (which they had been trained to despise as barbaric and depraved).

In all this, traditional African literature itself suffered a significant blow. The destruction of the African social and political units by colonialism meant that the very basis of our traditional literary productions was broken up. It is for that reason that though the tradition continued the literary products of our society showed neither genius nor purpose. Instead they became imitations of earlier epics and degenerated into eulogistic gimmicks in football matches. It is not unusual to hear whole chunks of plagiarized stanzas from the early epics modelled to suit the poetaster's needs.

All this is slightly misleading, since amidst all this decay there were signs of an awakening, an attempt at creating an idiom that by-passed the censorship. The whole picture cannot be fully known until liberation, since literally thousands of manuscripts lie buried in shelves, rejected by schools. Some principled writers refused to alter their manuscripts to suit the whims of a cruel regime, and thus remain unpublished to this day.

NUANCES TO EVADE CENSORSHIP

Also on the traditional literary side the resistance is shown in the works already quoted. All there were harbingers of the great literary workers of Dlomo, Mghayi, Vilakazi, Mofolo, etc. These writers produced not only historical novels but also poetry of resistance. To evade censorship they used literary nuances which could only be understood by those who knew African languages well. Mghayi, for instance, the great Xhosa poet, not only revived the traditional literary idiom but developed the structure to accommodate new literary ideas. By using double meanings he managed to compose virulent satires on the regime and the British empire.

Vilakazi, the great Zulu poet, viciously attacks the cruel system of migrant labour in the mines while appearing to be concerned with the muscular beauty of the former soldiers of the Zulu empire. Using a symbolic language he draws attention to the rusting qualities of mine bells which, in fact, are representations of the miners who are discarded soon after contracting silicosis.

H.I.E. Dlomo similarly writes of the Valley of a Thousand Hills whilst, in fact, writing about the political denudations of African liberties.

It is in this period we see the re-emergence of nationally orientated literature. The literature is concerned with protest but as yet does not call the population to revolt. All the same this in itself is an achievement of great significance. For the very act of protest meant that the writers of this period were re-defining once more the very ethos of the African nation.

FURTHER RESTRICTIONS

All this does not mean that the regime had relaxed its laws. On the contrary since 1927 more laws of censorship had been passed. The 1927 Native Administration Act prohibited any matter or publication "calculated to rouse hostility" between races. These sweet-sounding words actually meant that the government could censor any literature or newspaper which agitated for the rights of the oppressed.

The Riotous Assemblies Act of 1914, amended in 1930, prohibited publication of any words inciting public violence. This tightening-up of the law is a tribute to the very resistance which the government sought to stop. But such is the fate of all oppressive regimes that each law exposes loopholes in other spheres. The Suppression of Communism Act of 1950 and all its subsequent amendments not only make a definition of communism suitable to the regime's requirements, but also give power to ban any statements made by banned people. This has resulted in a large number of banned writers unable to publish anything whatsoever.

So one could go on *ad nauseum*, dealing with all the laws of censorship, laws preventing mixed meetings, laws preventing entry into 'Europeans only' theatres and places of public entertainment, laws dealing with the banning of newspapers: the list is almost endless. A writer in this context finds himself not only unable to publish but also crippled spiritually by the weight of the oppressive machinery.

GOVERNMENT PRESS

The Bantu Education Act, by bringing all schools under the direct authority of a government department, gave authority to that department to prescribe set-books for schools in all the provinces. This in practice has meant that books prescribed were those written by government-sponsored writers who penned ideological tracts orientating the African child towards acceptance of his inferior status in society. Side by side with this development has been the taking over of book publication by semi-government presses like Afrikaans Pers Beperk and Bantu Press.

All literature currently being published in South Africa for the African public and African schools is either the most poisonous and trite, or else the innocent mutterings of a politically unsophisticated romantic. Of the 30 volumes of poetry published, it is difficult to find anything of merit except in the works of such poets as 'Bulima Mgiyeke' or Seth Dlamini. The novel, if such a name can validly be used for these propaganda pamphlets, is no more than the structureless ramblings of demented minds.

(continued next page)

„SPOTLIGHT ON SOUTH AFRICA“

It is our aim to bring before world public opinion precise and reliable information on the day-to-day events taking place in South Africa. In doing so we hope that sufficient indignation will be aroused among democratically-minded people throughout the world to support the struggle of the oppressed people in South Africa against apartheid.

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NEW GROUPS ARISE

This is, of course, not the end of the story. Great writers are often stimulated by very harsh factors. But to know who they are we have to wait until liberation, for their works, as stated, remain unpublished.

Partly to avoid this censorship, partly as a result of accumulation, a new type of writer has emerged who writes in English. These writers, who are now mostly out of the country, represent a new form of resistance. Their works aim for a wider readership covering not only the South African audiences but the whole of the English-speaking world.

They include such well-known names as Lewis Nkosi (perhaps the brightest star of this constellation); Alex la Guma, the undisputed great political-realist short-story writer; Ezekiel Mphahlele, the father and master of this school; Can Themba, Arthur Maimane, Nat Nakasa, Bloke Modisane, and Alfred Hutchinson, one of the greatest "soul" writers South Africa has produced.

Almost all of them were on the staff of the now defunct 'Drum', a magazine started with good intentions but debased into one of the most frivolous literary puddles; while it stimulated writers to write socially-based comments, it swallowed them into its doctrine of crime sensationalism, beauty contest fads and shebeen ideologies. Writers who once worked for this magazine still bear the scars. One, in an attempt to rediscover himself, was driven to suicide. Others are still terrified of their 'Drum' identity, and sometimes crawl as it were in the night to find torn roots of their umbilical cords. What 'Drum' did is one of the most glaring tragedies of the colonial situation. It used the talents of its writers without adequate compensation. Its sensationalised reporting on African location life, so that from the grime and mire came laughing voices and suffering, was transformed by titillating fun.

Out of this school has survived, through sheer resistance, a genre of writers who are the true illustrious parallels of the earlier intellectuals. They are all living in exile outside South Africa.

NEW DYNAMIC URGENCY

We have not here dealt with the literature of the ruling circles. We regret the lack of time and space, for we feel that this literature is itself part of the story of liberation. The bulk of the literature is poor for the simple reason that its dimensions are limited by the concepts of baasskapism (race superiority) and apartheid. The settlers find it hard to reconcile their claim to being part of the African reality with the refutation found everywhere in their emigre literature. Most of it shows an extremely superficial experience.

Only a few white writers escape this. I do not here include Campbell, the once popular fascist poet. I do include Nadine Gordimer, Olive Schreiner (writer of the 'Story of an African Farm'), and Ruth First, the ceaseless South African political writer and stylist.

Unfortunately there are only a few of these writers in the Afrikaans language. Although in the Afrikaans language some outstanding works have been produced they, like the majority of white South African works, are confined within the tribal ethos. They show a narrowness and typically myopic view of the universe. African character is caricatured as simple, docile, or else treacherous and evil.

There are, however, a few angry young writers like Breyton Breytenbach who have written with a new dynamic urgency. But Breytenbach has to live in Paris to experience the totality of human relations. This is the tragedy of the South African situation.

The literature of resistance has begun in earnest in South Africa to reflect the new values of revolution and resistance. Some of it is being clandestinely distributed in the country, or recited in the camps and prisons like Robben Island.

As our resistance grows more powerful so shall the output of our literature. We intend to use everything at our disposal to win our freedom, and literature must, in our interpretation, define the very depths of our revolutionary action.